

Leo J. Ryan

LATE A REPRESENTATIVE FROM  
CALIFORNIA



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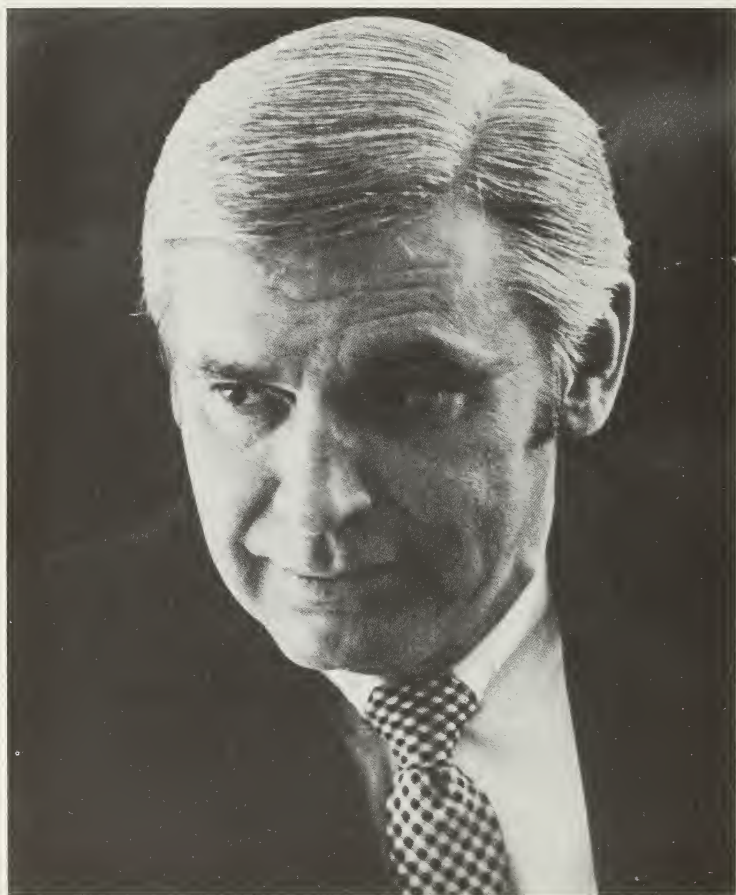


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# Memorial Services

Held in the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States,  
together with remarks presented in eulogy of

## Leo J. Ryan

*Late a Representative from California*

Ninety-sixth Congress

First Session



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1979

*Compiled under the direction  
of the  
Joint Committee on Printing*



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## Biography

LEO JOSEPH RYAN was born in Lincoln, Lancaster County, Nebr., May 5, 1925; attended schools in Illinois, New York, Florida, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin; A.B., Creighton University, Omaha, Nebr., 1949; M.S., same university, 1951; served in the United States Navy in ComSubPac, Pacific Theater, 1943-46; teacher and school administrator; author; city councilman, 1956-62; served as mayor, South San Francisco, Calif., 1962; member, California State Assembly, 1962-72; delegate to California State Democratic conventions, 1956-72; delegate to Democratic National Conventions, 1964-68; elected as a Democrat to the Ninety-third Congress, November 7, 1972; reelected to the three succeeding Congresses and served from January 3, 1973, until his death November 18, 1978, in an ambush at the airstrip of Port Kaituma, Guyana; interment in Golden Gate National Cemetery, San Bruno, Calif.



MEMORIAL SERVICES

FOR

LEO J. RYAN





## Proceedings in the House

MONDAY, *January 15, 1979.*

This being the day fixed by the 20th amendment of the Constitution and Public Law 95-594 of the 95th Congress for the annual meeting of the Congress of the United States, the Members-elect of the House of Representatives of the 96th Congress met in their Hall, and at 12 o'clock noon were called to order by the Clerk of the House of Representatives, Hon. Edmund L. Henshaw, Jr.

The former Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., delivered the following prayer:

*God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble.—*  
Psalms 46:1.

O God, our Father, who is the refuge and strength of Your people in every age and our refuge and strength in this present hour, we pause in Your presence as we open the first session of the 96th Congress to offer unto You the devotion of our hearts and to dedicate our thoughts and actions to the welfare of the people of our beloved Republic.

Aware of Your presence help us to accept our responsibility to lead our Nation into a larger good for our citizens and for the people on our planet. Amid the voices which call us to lower our high ideals may we feel the power of Your presence and the life of Your love. With Your Spirit may we make this a great year in the life of our Republic.

We call to mind the lives of two of our Members, LEO J. RYAN, and William A. Steiger who have gone home to be with You. For their devotion to duty and their love for our country we thank You. Comfort their families with the strength of Your Spirit.

We pause to remember the life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the contribution he made to his people and to the life of our Nation.

Lead us all into a deeper understanding of Your message to us. Walking with You in ever greater trust may we go forward to build upon this planet an order of life in which justice and truth and brotherhood shall prevail for the good of all Your children and the glory of Your holy name.

Reverently may we offer together this familiar and heart warming prayer.

*Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For Thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory, forever.*

Amen.

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

#### HOUSE RESOLUTION 11

*Resolved*, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable LEO J. RYAN, a Representative from the State of California.

*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, November 18, 1978, we lost a gallant leader. LEO RYAN's absence is already painfully noticeable here in the Halls of the Congress.

Congressman RYAN's death and the incidents surrounding that fateful day in Jonestown, Guyana, has not only shocked all of us who knew and respected this fine man, but has shocked the entire world. But, hopefully this tragic turn of events will serve to awaken our Nation and the world. It should give rise to our need to reexamine the extremism and radicalization of some of the cult organizations.

LEO RYAN was an outstanding member of the House International Relations Committee and came to Congress in 1973 as a member of the 93d congressional class. This gentleman from California and I

went together on our first study mission to Latin America in 1973. I found his appetite for information and the truth to be insatiable. In the last 5 years I had the fortune of working with LEO on several important issues, and as recent as last January traveled with him on a Middle East study mission. As a matter of fact, I had been invited by LEO to accompany him on his last fateful mission.

I was attending a seminar in London when I heard of Congressman RYAN's bizarre death. It is incumbent now upon those of us in the Congress who knew of LEO's public service mission to thoroughly investigate the causes of the Jonestown tragedy, and to attempt to make certain that such tragic events will not occur in the future.

Besides his duties on the International Relations Committee, we also served together on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. He was a creative, devoted public servant who never shirked responsibility under fire.

LEO's skills as an investigator were sharpened during his 10 years in the California State Assembly. His first love was education, and prior to his political career he served as a school principal and school superintendent. During World War II, LEO served in the submarine service of the U.S. Navy.

America lost a dedicated public servant on November 18. So that his death not be in vain, let us thoroughly investigate those organizations which in the guise of offering salvation, provide only despair.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. HANCE. Mr. Speaker, as a further mark of respect to the deceased, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 23 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until Thursday, January 18, 1979, at 11 o'clock a.m.

WEDNESDAY, *January 31, 1979.*

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I have asked for this special order so that all Members would have an opportunity to participate in the eulogies and memories and tributes to the late LEO RYAN of the 11th District of California.

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, in the Congressional Directory, where Members of Congress are permitted to edit or even to compose their own biographies, LEO RYAN's is one of the briefest. Only seven lines recite the barest facts of his remarkably eventful 53 years.

This reveals one facet of the character of Congressman LEO J. RYAN. He was not given to extensive self-advertisement, nor to the superficial trappings and social floss of political life.

He was his own man, at times introspective and never fully predictable. There was nothing stale or stereotyped or unoriginal in LEO's makeup. He defied the confinement of glib political labels.

LEO RYAN was a brave and compassionate man who thought his own thoughts, fought his own fights, and followed his own convictions. Yet what is "integrity" but that?

This above all. To thine own self be true;  
And it follows as the night the day  
Thou Canst not then be false to any man.

In local, State, and Federal office, LEO was a friend of the disadvantaged, the disenchanting, and the dispossessed—those who most need a friend in high places. He took on their habiliments, tasted their anguish with them, and in their service he went literally to the ends of the Earth.

In the 1960's, after the Watts riots spread shock waves of fear throughout the land, LEO RYAN's insatiable curiosity and his innate sympathy would not let him rest. Then a member of the California Legislature, he concealed his identity, moved in with a black family, and took a job as a substitute teacher in the ghetto, there to learn as well as teach—and to serve where the need was greatest.

In 1970, to learn the real truth which no outsider can ever truly know about our prison system and prison life, Assemblyman RYAN assumed the identity of a prisoner and lived for 8 days as an inmate at Folsom Prison.

Repelled by reports of the cruel wholesale slaughter of seal puppies, Congressman RYAN went to Newfoundland to see for himself.

Perhaps it is not an irreverence to suggest that LEO RYAN's ever willing readiness to go where there is suffering is in some ways akin to the response of Isaiah who said, "Here am I, Lord. Send me."

And last fall when friends and constituents came to LEO with alarming horror stories about human captivity and bizarre inhumanity

ties carried on against loved ones in a remote jungle colony in faraway Guyana, LEO went to see and to serve.

It was there, while helping to free captives, that he met his death. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. So he died for his faith? (wrote Crosby) That is fine, more than most of us do; But, say, can you add to that line

That he lived for it, too?

It seems to me that in only slightly less dramatic ways, LEO RYAN throughout his life has been giving his life to people.

As a volunteer in the U.S. Navy during World War II at the age of only 18, he offered his life to our country.

As a teacher, LEO's first occupation, he gave his life to youngsters.

As a mayor of his community, as State assemblyman, and as a Member of the U.S. Congress, he has given the greater part of his life to the public.

There must be in this a consolation for LEO's loved ones—for it is in giving that we receive and in dying that we are born to eternal life.

And the King shall say to those on his right hand, Come ye blessed of my Father and enter into the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world, for I was an hungered and ye gave me to eat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was naked and ye clothed me; I was sick and in prison and ye came unto me \* \* \* for inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, you have done it unto me.

And that is the legacy into which our brave and generous friend, LEO RYAN, is now embraced.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, LEO RYAN was a good friend of mine. We talked together a lot. I found him thoroughly consistent in one thing: He was a completely dedicated public servant. He cared about the people that he represented, and he was absolutely fearless—as his death demonstrates—in his efforts to serve them.

Some of the things that he did may have appeared to some to be quixotic. They were not. He moved in to try to help people when nobody else would. He was a man of great courage, great character, and a very, very fine representative of the people. I will miss him, as will we all.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, we have taken up our duties in the Government Operations Committee this year saddened by the loss of our colleague, LEO RYAN. LEO headed the Subcommittee on Environ-



ment, Energy, and Natural Resources for 4 years, and did so in the vigorous, full-spirited manner that characterized his approach to his responsibilities as a Member of Congress.

Under his leadership, the subcommittee made significant contributions with its investigations of dam safety, nuclear power costs, aircraft noise, and the need to protect California's redwood forests. He did not swerve from the course he thought was right because of opposition or because of controversy. He followed where the facts led him. It was in this spirit he undertook his fateful journey to Guyana, with the tragic results that still shock the world.

His career here was all too brief. He had much to contribute; much to accomplish. Besides the sense of personal loss I feel, I mourn the loss the Congress and the Nation have suffered by his death.

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, LEO RYAN is gone, a victim of a tragedy that staggers the imagination, and we are all the poorer for his passing.

LEO RYAN was first of all a teacher, and in his all-too-brief time as a Member of this body, he taught us new meanings to the words "involvement" and "responsibility," and he set an example for the thousands whose lives he touched.

LEO was a man possessed of a keen sense of adventure, and of living life to its fullest. It was typical of him to travel to a virtually unknown part of the globe because he felt that there were those there who needed his help.

LEO RYAN was always a people-oriented man who consistently came down on the side of the human being as opposed to the bureaucracy. One of the finest examples of his caring attitude was his outspoken advocacy of the pardon of Patricia Hearst, an effort in which I was proud to join. And I could not be happier that the matter has just been brought to a successful conclusion. This was LEO RYAN at his best.

His spirit affected us all, and as dean of the California delegation, I know I express the sentiments of all of us from California, including many of his colleagues who have retired in recent years, when I say that LEO RYAN was a friend of mankind and will be sorely missed.

Mr. DANIELSON. Mr. Speaker, my friendship with LEO RYAN dates back to 1962, when we both were elected to the California State Assembly. LEO and I served together in the assembly for 4 years,

and our friendship continued after I was elected to the State senate, and we continued to work together in the legislature on an almost daily basis during the 4 years I served in the senate. I was indeed pleased when I was able to welcome LEO, in 1972, to join us in the 93d Congress.

I knew LEO, not only as a close friend, but also as a dedicated, hard worker in both the California Assembly and the U.S. Congress. Although LEO's work with the International Relations Committee consumed more and more of his time during his last years in Congress, his many interests went far beyond the area of foreign affairs. I served with LEO on the International Relations Committee for 2 years.

Having been a teacher before his election to the California Assembly, LEO maintained a firm commitment to the improvement of our public education system, and strongly believed that the education of our Nation's youth must be one of our greatest priorities. LEO often remarked to me that too much emphasis was placed upon satisfying the demands of school officials, without focusing enough attention upon the needs of the students in our public school system. In this area, as in everything he worked for throughout his life, LEO RYAN demonstrated his great concern for his fellow human beings. It was great concern for others which brought about the tragic end to his life.

I join my colleagues in mourning the loss of my good friend LEO RYAN, and know that he will be missed, not only by his friends, but by all those who benefitted from his dedication to public service.

Mr. JOHN L. BURTON. Mr. Speaker, I have known LEO RYAN since 1958 when he was on the city council of South City. The first time he ran for the State assembly and lost, many of us from San Francisco were as disappointed as our Democratic brethren in South City over this loss.

LEO—or, as many of us who served with him in the State legislature called him—REO, was urged to run again in 1960. For someone who was really not a politician but an educator, he was, as has been said before, one who had a very astute political sense and he decided to sit out that year and wait until 1962. In 1962 he ran and was elected to the State assembly. There he became a member of the committee on education. The educational establishment in the State of California was never the same as a result of LEO, who was a true

maverick on any and every issue. He was a person who in every instance marched to the beat of his own drum. And when people in this Congress sometimes would come up to me and say, "What's with LEO? Why is he voting that way?" the only answer anyone could give, who knew LEO as I did, was, "That's LEO RYAN, and that's how it is, and that's how he is going to do it. And there is no sense in trying to talk to him, because when he makes up his mind, he does it with full knowledge of every issue involved, and you are not going to talk him out of the position he has taken."

He was always in political trouble in his district if you could believe some of the political activists. The one instance in which he was in "great political trouble" was the year that he ended up winning the Republican nomination in the primary on a write-in vote. That is what kind of trouble he was in.

Then he was in big trouble in the Congress one year if anyone listened to the activists' reports, and if anyone had listened to Secretary Simon, but LEO won by a margin bigger than he did the previous election.

I am going to miss LEO a great deal because we served in the State legislature, and we were on the rules committee of the California Assembly for several years. For 4 of those years I had the privilege of being chairman when LEO was a member of that committee. He was the one who encouraged me back in 1967 to go on that committee on rules in the California State Assembly because he said it was more important than any chairmanship in the State legislature. I could not believe it at that time; but after lunch was over, LEO convinced me and I did pursue my interest on rules, which leads me to this point in time when I have a special interest in the House Committee on House Administration.

It was a very weird fact that when I returned from a recess, in my office was a letter from LEO asking me to accompany him on his trip to Guyana. I will never be able to answer the question throughout the rest of my life of what would have happened, and what I would have done had I gotten this letter before they had left, and what my response to him would have been.

Again, we are all going to miss LEO RYAN. I am even going to miss him to the extent that I will miss people coming up to me and asking me, "What's with Leo? Why did he do that?" The answer will always be: "LEO did it because that is the way LEO was."



Mr. Speaker, I extend condolences at this time to his mother Autumn, to his children and to their mother, and especially to Flo Stevens who was his second wife and a very close personal friend of mine because she had worked with LEO and me in the State legislature, and so I would add special condolences to Flo.

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of loss that I rise to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the late LEO RYAN, whose tragic and premature death has saddened all of us who serve in this House of Representatives.

We are truly saddened, because LEO RYAN passed away in the prime of his life, long before the completion of his noble life objectives; we are also saddened because LEO RYAN died in a faraway place, on a foreign soil, rather than among his close friends and loved ones. We are further saddened because a Member of Congress died while investigating allegations of injustice to American citizens in response to urgent pleas for help from his own constituents.

Those of us who knew LEO knew him to be a very delicatd and compassionate man, a champion of causes which enhanced the plight of the less fortunate of our society. LEO RYAN was a public servant of the finest caliber. He was a doer, a willing participant in the heroic causes of mankind. In addition, LEO was an active and enthusiastic legislator who always had his feet planted firmly in the soil of his beloved State of California.

My own personal friendship with LEO really developed from the fact that he had spent his boyhood days in Massachusetts and that his dad was the editor of one of the former Boston newspapers. LEO knew so much about the area from which I come, about the beauty of our fall and our autumn foliage, and how he loved to reminisce about those days in Andover, Mass., where he lived during his adolescent years.

Consequently, because of the fact that we both spent our youth in the same region, we became extremely friendly.

I had the pleasure of going to California 3 years ago to campaign for LEO. It was a typical Democratic fundraising dinner. LEO's friends were all gathered together here. I remember so well how eloquently he spoke that night. He told his many friends that he was expecting a heated reelection contest. He gave them the credo and the motto by which he lived: "I am my brother's keeper, I believe in truth and veracity."

LEO RYAN tackled many of the problems of the day and gave his viewpoints to his friends, even though those viewpoints were not in agreement with many of those who were present that night at the fundraiser.

One would have to have had the utmost respect for a man like LEO. I will never forget that night. LEO was so outspoken, so clear in setting down a pattern with respect to what he truly believed about public service.

The 96th Congress will miss the wise counsel of LEO RYAN, and I know the House Committee on International Relations will particularly miss this genuine crusader on behalf of human rights, human dignity, and human justice. Once LEO RYAN believed in the righteousness of the cause, there was no turning back.

He was, indeed, a beautiful individual. My wife, Millie, and our family join in expressing the deepest of sorrow to his mother and to his family. May God always hold him in the palm of His hand.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, if the Members remember the Federalist Papers, they will recall that Alexander Hamilton, one of the authors of the Constitution, and his colleagues were concerned about what they believed were the propensities of legislative bodies to venality and demagoguery. In one of the Federalist Papers he said that the reputation of the British Parliament of those days for corruption and venality was well known, but, he said, there are always some men of character and independence who were able to provide the standards by which the level of the whole body was raised.

I think our House of Representatives, of course, has demonstrated that those same Founding Fathers structured our Government in a way that overcame some of the weaknesses of the body he referred to. Nevertheless, LEO RYAN was an example of the kind of person Alexander Hamilton was referring to—a man of character, integrity, and upright qualities, who helped elevate the level of thought, integrity, and humanity in our institution.

LEO RYAN was a man of independence and a man of compassion, a person who believed that it was not enough to talk or even to vote to help his fellow human beings. He believed in direct action and personal involvement.

Some of the letters that were written to the Washington Post and to my hometown papers after the terrible events in British Guyana were very revealing.

I would like to read one excerpt from one of those letters to the Washington Post and then I will include the two of them following my remarks. I quote now from a letter by a person named Joseph Webb from Washington, D.C.:

My whole heart goes out to the innocents who were slain, Representative LEO RYAN was on a mission of mercy. He was responding to anguished cries for help that were being screened by people whose blinded eyes were opened.

LEO felt sorrow and compassion for people who had been trapped by their own dependence and by the kind of demagoguery that is always present in every generation. We do not have to go back very far to recall what happened to mankind when an entire nation was trapped by a charismatic psychopath, Adolf Hitler. If there had been more men like LEO RYAN in the right places at the right time, the horror of nazism might have been exposed and blocked before it had reached such enormous proportions.

In any case, we can honor and admire LEO for his humanity and his willingness to help his fellow man. I am proud to join with other Members in paying tribute to him.

The letters referred to are as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 26, 1978]

The catastrophe in Guyana throws a chilling light on a question that has been asked by historians and social scientists about a recent period in European history. Were Adolf Hitler and the Nazi experience really unique to one thing and place—a “German sickness” that even to Germany was an aberration?

There are the clearest of parallels in the early nature and methods of the Nazi movement and the more lately deceased Peoples Temple; the special feeling of closeness and mutual affinity within the group while the outer world is faced with a siege mentality; the thin veneer of community-service projects approved by “businessmen, civic leaders and politicians” masking the ugly reality of the group; the turning of child against parent. Deplorably noteworthy as well was the posture of lethargic indifference by authority in the face of continued and documented abuse to human beings until a violent and irreversible tragedy took place.

Whether it be called “Nazism” or “Peoples Temple,” or by any other name, what we confront in essence is a dangerous and ominous flaw in the psychology of humanity; the apparently inherent predisposition to be mobilized, directed and dominated in the mass by the force of a single psychopathic personality possessing extraordinary oratorical power and representing a transcendent father or security figure.

If a severe deterioration in social conditions ever permitted the emergence of something like the Peoples Temple on a large scale in human society in a nuclear age, it could mean the end of mankind.

MILNER BENEDICT.

CHEVERLY.



The situation in Guyana is an extreme example of the ritualism that permeates all of the world's formal religions. Blind belief in anything—even a concept of God—can result in the same horrifying spectacle right here at home. After all, was not the Rev. Jim Jones' cult founded on American soil?

My whole heart goes out to the innocents who were slain. Rep. LEO RYAN (D-Calif.) was on a mission of mercy. He was responding to anguished cries for help that were being screamed by people whose blinded eyes were opened. He went to Guyana as a liberator, and he returned to America as a martyr.

I can only feel sorrow and compassion for those who committed this atrocity. In reality, they had died long before they drank that deadly, poisonous concoction.

Within a world where humans have forgotten how to be human, I have seen the depths to which my fellow man can stoop. Perhaps, one day, humankind will fully extend its arms, then I shall see the heights we can reach.

JOSEPH WEBB.

WASHINGTON.

Mr. ERLNBORN. Mr. Speaker, LEO RYAN was a curious combination of daredevil, investigative reporter, and public official.

Most of us are content to have our staff study reports of conditions which may need legislative correcting, discuss the matter amongst ourselves in this Chamber, then issue press releases on our carefully considered positions. LEO was not that kind of legislator. His previous forays into dangerous situations have been well documented. His trip to Guyana was not his first to look, firsthand, at a problem.

LEO RYAN charted his own course, figuratively and literally. When LEO came to a decision, we listened to his reasoning carefully, knowing that it was not reached cursorily, but after a great deal of thought.

Most of us, Mr. Speaker, do not possess LEO's nerve, stamina, mettle, or valor. That is our failing. LEO RYAN set a standard that will be difficult for those of us remaining to meet.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues in paying tribute to LEO RYAN. Mr. Speaker, countless questions have been asked about the November tragedy in Guyana. Yet, there have thus far been few solid answers as to how and why this horrible and unbelievable event occurred.



Doubtless few single incidents in our lifetimes have caused more words to be written or provoked more searching for elusive reasons to help in explaining just what happened.

However, today we temporarily lay aside those concerns in order to pay homage and tribute to our fallen colleague, LEO RYAN. At the same time, let us honor the memory of the journalists who lost their lives on that forsaken jungle airstrip far from home. Let us also remember the special needs of the wounded whose physical and emotional scars may not have healed over.

Mr. Speaker, LEO RYAN served three terms in this House. But in that short span of 6 years, he established a deserved reputation as a tireless worker who never shied away from tacking any problem or any issue with determination and perseverance, even when he found himself almost alone in his thinking.

LEO and I sat together on two committees—International Relations and Government Operations. He chaired the Government Operations Subcommittee on Environment, Energy, and Natural Resources, upon which I served in the 95th Congress as ranking majority member.

Largely as a result of our committee work, I knew LEO RYAN as a dedicated and conscientious member who possessed a certain streak of independence. It was in the end that quality which led him to go to Guyana on behalf of his California constituents to view the situation firsthand, based on his own private investigation.

Regrettably, LEO and some in his party were unable to escape the terrible consequences of what they learned. They paid a precious price which set off a chain of inhuman events rarely before witnessed by a civilized society.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that one meaning we extract from the tragedy in Guyana will be the dangers—potential and real—of misuse and abuse of the freedoms we proudly use and defend, such as the constitutional guarantee of freedom of religion.

For instance, we ought to examine what consequences might ensue when freedom loses its intended purpose and becomes instead a menace to other rights and to other citizens. In so doing, we should be guided by the ancient maxim of law and logic which states that while a man has a right to swing his fist, that right ends where another man's nose begins. The Guyana tragedy should remind us that even our

most basic freedoms are not absolute—they are in fact subject to the bounds of law, of rationality, of commonsense, and of respect for the equally valid rights of others.

Hopefully, a realistic and responsible examination of the tragedy in Guyana, keeping in mind the dangers of extremism, will enable us to give greater meaning to LEO RYAN's life and to his untimely death.

I join with my colleagues in extending heartfelt sympathy to the Ryan family.

Mr. MOORHEAD of California. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the chairman of the California delegation for holding this special order for our friend, LEO RYAN.

The tragic circumstances under which LEO died have been so tremendous that few of us have been able really to understand the full extent of them; but that cannot obscure the great loss that each one of us feels in the death of our friend and colleague. We cannot lose a capable, productive Member of the House like LEO RYAN without being the poorer for it.

LEO RYAN and I were Members of the class of 1973. Prior to that, we spent 6 years together in the California Assembly, although he was 4 years my senior in that body.

During that dozen years of association, LEO always showed great independence. He was careful to examine issues in great detail and to come to his own conclusions, sometimes divergent from the majority of the House, whether the assembly or the Congress; but he would always have sound logic and reasons for his conclusions and usually he would be able to take many others along with him in his position.

He was a hard worker, a good friend of California, especially California education, out of which community he himself came before he became a part of the political community.

During his brief stay in Washington he made a real impact on the national political scene. He will be missed for a long time. I think each one of us misses him as a friend.

Mr. BADHAM. Mr. Speaker, I, too, take this time today to honor the memory of LEO RYAN of the 11th District of the State of California, whose home was in South San Francisco.

LEO and I were alumni of the lower house of the California legislature, the assembly, and we were classmates of the 1962 class. I be-

came close to LEO because one could tell immediately upon meeting LEO that here was a man who had something to offer. It was my pleasure to know LEO well over the years, and when I joined him in the Congress, our friendship became even closer. I had the opportunity to know LEO as an author, as a sailor, as a legislator, and as an advocate—and a strong one—for those things in which he most strongly believed.

There are, of course, all kinds of people in this world and all kinds of legislators. We see cause-oriented people, issue-oriented people, party-oriented people, bureaucrat-oriented people, and so on. I would classify LEO as a people-oriented legislator.

LEO was one of those legislators whose strongest advocacy was in behalf of people for whom he felt, and felt strongly, were not being heard or who were being heard incorrectly.

This legislative body will sincerely and sorely miss the Leo Ryans. This body should pay homage to the Leo Ryans in the hope that we can have more Leo Ryans to take over where one left off through most tragic and unfortunate circumstances.

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I appreciate his requesting this special order so that we may pay homage to the memory of LEO RYAN.

Mr. Speaker, it is never easy to accept the death of a friend and colleague, particularly when his passing is completely unexpected and when it comes, like a cruel intruder, at the very prime of his life.

LEO RYAN's murder shocked all of us who worked with him and it horrified every American.

Here was a man who was not content to let assertions and ideas go unexamined. He refused to live vicariously, choosing instead to participate fully and to meet challenges directly.

This course inevitably involved risks at times. LEO RYAN knew that he had not taken a safe or easy route, but he knew, too, that it was the only one with which he could be satisfied.

This was the outlook that led him to live for a time in the Watts section of Los Angeles immediately following the disturbances there. It was the philosophy that motivated him to pose as a prisoner so he could have an unvarnished understanding of conditions in penal institutions. And it was this sense of direct involvement that led him finally to Guyana.

There is a certain tragic symmetry in the fact that LEO RYAN was killed in the course of action, in the pursuit of his duties and ideals.

Mr. Speaker, it is fitting, too, that tomorrow marks the successful culmination of one of his last great causes—the commutation of Patricia Hearst's sentence by the President and her release from jail.

I know from my work with him on the Government Information and Individual Rights Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee and on the floor of the House that LEO RYAN was a most conscientious and able Congressman. He had enormous talents and he did not squander them. He always sought to do his best to fulfill his own demanding concept of the type of legislator and the type of man he ought to be.

It is a privilege to have known LEO RYAN. I will miss him greatly as will the entire House.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I commend our colleague, Congressman Bizz Johnson, chairman of the Public Works Commission, for arranging time to pay tribute today to a man of great courage and dedication—our late and valued colleague, LEO J. RYAN of California. Those of us who served with LEO RYAN on the Committee on International Relations were keenly aware of his fiercely independent spirit. He was a big man, with a strong personality and a missionary zeal for the helpless and those in need.

In addition to courage, LEO also had great compassion, and it was this quality which, more than anything else, led him to the jungles of Guyana in an attempt to assist the relatives of the Jonestown inhabitants. It was his decision, and a courageous one, to make a personal visit to the People's Temple commune and investigate the charges that people were being held against their will and were being otherwise mistreated. Although he was aware of some of the risks involved in such an undertaking, it is clear that no one really anticipated the extreme level of violence which LEO was to encounter there.

By all accounts, LEO conducted himself during his visit to Jonestown with great bravery and concern for others. To the very end, his first concern was for those in greatest need, in greatest danger. He initially decided to stay behind in Jonestown, after sending out those defectors who wished to leave under his protection. Finally, after a knife attack, the Deputy Chief of Mission of the American Embassy,



who was also present, had to order the Congressman to leave with the others. Upon reaching the airstrip, like a good captain, he ordered those fleeing Jonestown to board the airplane first while he waited on the airstrip to insure that everyone was taken care of. Those who boarded the plane were able to shut the door after the attack began and save themselves. LEO RYAN was gunned down helplessly outside.

LEO RYAN was a member of the Committee on International Relations for all of his 6 years in the House and participated actively in the work of the committee during that period. He was a member of the Subcommittee on International Operations which oversees Department of State operations, including the protection of American citizens abroad—the focus of LEO's fatal study mission to Guyana. He was also a member of the Subcommittee on International Organizations dealing with the United Nations, human rights, and during the last Congress, with an investigation of Korean-American relations. He also served with distinction on behalf of the committee as chairman of the U.S. congressional delegation at its 13th meeting with a delegation of the European Parliament.

In legislation before our committee, LEO was a vigorous advocate of human rights, intelligence reform, and the protection of harp seals and whales.

Mr. Speaker, LEO RYAN was an activist in the best sense of that term—that he could make a difference. He frequently did so and he will be missed.

Today at the organizational meeting of the International Relations Committee a resolution was adopted to rename the committee to Foreign Affairs. Two years ago LEO sponsored such a change. Today's committee action is in no small measure a tribute to him.

Mr. KINDNESS. Mr. Speaker, it is always sad to learn of the untimely passing of a fellow Member of the House. It was particularly shocking to learn of the bizarre and brutal murder of our colleague from California, LEO J. RYAN.

I had the opportunity to serve with LEO on the Government Operations Committee, and the Subcommittee on Environment, Energy, and Natural Resources, which he chaired. Although we differed greatly at times and on a number of issues, I can say that LEO made the work of the subcommittee interesting and challenging. I

shall never know whether his pleasure in the contest was as great as mine, but there was no question that he always met in the contest the views with which he was confronted and with which he may have disagreed.

His devotion to solar energy development, dam safety, radiation protection, and other energy and environmental issues will be sorely missed.

In LEO's work with the subcommittee, I was always impressed with his dogged determination and persistence to learn about an issue under investigation. Much has been said and written about his desire to see things firsthand. For example, once while a State legislator, he had himself taken to Folsom Prison in shackles and handcuffs so he could observe prison conditions there without being detected. This instance and others exemplify his drive to fully understand the facts of a situation.

It was this personal involvement in the issues he pursued that took LEO to Guyana last November. Several of his constituents had asked him to help them learn about a cult known as the People's Temple, because their relatives had gone to the small South American nation and had become virtual captives of the group.

LEO was aware of the possibility of danger in Jonestown, yet he believed it was his duty to pursue the matter personally. I think all of us admire the dedication and bravery LEO displayed by refusing to be satisfied with a bland State Department inquiry, and ignoring the risk, to go size up the cult group for himself.

It is fitting that this tribute to LEO RYAN comes just before the completion of another matter he cared deeply about. Tomorrow Patricia Hearst will be released from prison, her sentence for bank robbery having been commuted by the President earlier this month. LEO was concerned about Ms. Hearst's safety in prison and he felt she had been punished enough. I am sure his interest in the Hearst situation helped encourage the Justice Department to consider the question of commuting her prison sentence. LEO would be pleased that his efforts in her behalf have been successful.

LEO's 22 years of public service are a legacy of which his family can be justifiably proud. Today's tribute is well deserved.

I wish to join LEO's mother, sisters, and children in mourning his death and extend to them my sincere sympathy.

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. Speaker, I rise also to commemorate LEO RYAN.

I had the opportunity and good fortune to go with LEO RYAN on one of his missions. It dealt with a wrong that LEO felt strongly about. I had the opportunity to travel with him off the coast of Labrador to protest the killing of the baby harp seals. That was an experience which I, of course, will never forget. It was one which made me feel very close to LEO in the short time that I did have an opportunity to work with him. He demonstrated to me what could be accomplished if someone was willing to go out and not be afraid to confront the problems head on. We had experiences there which required a considerable amount of courage. LEO rose to the challenge. He was not afraid to confront the Canadian Government. He was not daunted by the emotional reactions of local officials. He acted with forcefulness and a zeal to accomplish the goal for which we were there. Yet at the same time he acted with the kind of responsible conduct which would result in finding answers without unduly antagonizing those he confronted.

On that trip I grew to admire LEO. He taught me much. LEO had a long history of going to the scene—he used every weapon at his command—including the press—to maximize information and exposure regarding the issue of concern. He had a real knack for getting at the truth.

I also had the opportunity to work with him on the resolution which made Sun Day a national day. It was his resolution which did that. I served on the board of directors of the Sun Day organization. LEO and I traveled together down the Mall on Sun Day to talk to the thousands of young people who had gathered there to express their desire to do something about solar energy. I was amazed at and admired the way LEO was able to stand in front of that group and turn them on and get an enthusiastic response from them.

Both of these issues reflect LEO's character—in supporting something, he gave 150 percent.

He was a man of causes. They were generally the right kind of causes. Where he saw the need to protect something that was being violated—be they young animals, or a fragile and developing technology. In Guyana, of course, it was more than that, the lives of his constituents and their relatives.

But most of all I think I will remember LEO RYAN for what he accomplished in enhancing the diminished image of this body. That terrible day in Guyana occurred at a time in our history when we have many problems with some Members of Congress that embarrass and taint us all. To me he demonstrated to this body, to the Nation, and to the world, another side, a noble side, and I believe a more representative side.

LEO is not alone in this kind of representation—many other Congressmen also are activists like he was—but in an era where public opinion of Congress is low and where the trials of some hog the front pages, it is a reminder of what Congress can be when we look at LEO's example.

Certainly he was an example of greatness in his ability to go out and confront people and to seek out and try to solve those problems of concern of his constituents. But he also demonstrated to the American people that there are a number of Congressmen who were willing to go so far as to risk their own life in the pursuance of the goals of their jobs. Hopefully, his sacrifice will, at least momentarily, take the public's mind off some of the other less noble problems that this body has faced with its Members. I believe that he did a great service to Congress, to us, in demonstrating to the American people that there are many Members willing to sacrifice not only their time, effort, and money but their very lives for the cause of their constituents.

What I have just said about Members of Congress is also true of faithful dedicated staff who work the same long hours, and take the same risks. It would not be proper for me to end without mentioning Jackie Speier. As you know Jackie suffered a double tragedy. She lost a man she admired, and who admired her. She also suffered violent physical harm because of her willingness to assist LEO in his mission.

Jackie Speier traveled with us on to the iceflows of Labrador. I noted with admiration her ability to negotiate difficult issues under pressure and trying circumstances. I noted her courage in facing the emotional confrontations that we encountered. It did not surprise me to find that she was at LEO's side when he died.

I would like to include at this time some reflections that I had about that adventure on the ice with LEO and Jackie. This article appeared in the May 1978 issue of New England Outdoors magazine:



[From the New England Outdoors magazine, May 1978]

In the early morning hours of March 11th, 3 small helicopters lifted off a pad near St. Anthony's, Newfoundland, and began a spectacular 200-mile flight north over pristine frozen wilderness. The choppers carried myself, Congressman LEO RYAN of California, several members of the internationally-based Greenpeace Environmental Foundation, Congressional aides, and Canadian press and officials on the way to view first hand the killing of young Harp Seal pups on the thick ice off the east coast of Labrador.

"First-hand observation" is a many-edged instrument. The edges are multiplied when American Congressmen visit abroad to view an event over which emotions have run high recently. The activist Greenpeace organization has successfully focused the world's attention on the annual Harp Seal "hunt," "slaughter," "harvest," or "assassination," depending on which term fits *your* perception of the rationale for the destruction of these young mammals (i.e., is it for "economic," "luxury," "subsistence" or "traditional" reasons).

As a hunter myself, I can assure sportsmen that this is no "hunt." Whereas, traditionally, sealers braved ice and storm in small boats to locate the seals to take a few pelts, today modern craft and spotting techniques have taken all the risk out of it. There is no element of surprise, and no contest.

Last year both Houses of the Congress passed a resolution asking the Canadian government to reassess its policy of permitting the kill. This year the first Congressional visit again drew the attention of the world's media. Why was I there? What are my reactions?

First, the Canadian press took us to task last year for legislating without sufficient information. We'd never been up there. Who were we to talk? Were the Yanks so damn perfect? Second, we've got a fast-growing organization in the Congress called the Environmental Study Conference, now numbering 270 House Members and 70 Senators, of which I am the House Chairman. The ESC membership, I think, would benefit from whatever facts I could gather. Lastly, we were invited both by Greenpeace and the Canadian Ministry of Fisheries to be their guests.

Although we were, then, invited guests, we discovered a remarkable degree of both private and official paranoia over the visit. We were, it seemed, rather in the genre of skunks at a lawn party. What kind of irrational blokes were we to traipse around a sub-freezing ice flow observing a practice which civilization, these many eons, has not made much improvement upon.

Our emotions and sympathies fluctuated rapidly; it is admittedly difficult to sort out the balance of benefits and detriments, rights and wrongs, essentials from nonessentials, particularly on the spot on a blood-stained remoteness. No one can come away from the destruction of pups still in the process of nursing from their mothers without being affected. It was difficult to watch the reaction of the mothers without feeling a sense of general shame. Yet, too, suppose the pups were completely protected, would the herd grow too large, unbalanced due to the absence of the seal's traditional predator, the polar bear?

What also of the economic benefit accruing to that minority of Newfoundlanders whose income is substantially improved by the proceeds from the pelts?

The crucial perspective is ecological balance. What is the proper level of herd management? What is "optimum" size given the ecology of the area? Indeed, do we understand well enough the "workings" of this "ecological balance?" Opinions on such basic questions as the growth of the herd vary widely, in large part because, as the Canadian Department of Fisheries and Environment admits, "population assessment is extremely difficult." Aerial census techniques using ultraviolet film have been developed, and this and other methods have led the Canadian government to set annual "sustainable yield" figures, i.e., catch ceilings which would still maintain population size. A ceiling of 180,000 was thus established for 1978 (this includes adults, but most of the take will be pups). Other, highly reputable organizations such as the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, have disputed Canadian estimates, even to the point of officially calling for a moratorium on the killing. They claim the herd is being depleted.

With reputable scientists on both sides, it is clear that new analysis is in order to determine what the size of the herd should be, and what the level of kill should be to sustain that size. It is not enough, certainly, to be content with the comments of one TV commentator who maintained that unrestricted killing would be all right since it looked to him as if the seals were "thick as fleas down there."

Other, more regrettable events occurred on the ice, illustrating how easily the emotions of the issues can overtake us as individuals and, yes, as governments too. When we landed on the ice a Newfoundland government Minister, dressed as a sealer, provoked arguments with the visitors. We were not, of course, aware of his official position, but when we were informed later that it was in fact a government Minister who told us to "go back to the U.S. and mind your own business," we were certain he did not speak for the central government which had invited us. He shortly thereafter resigned his post.

Likewise, it was bizarre when, in an incident which occurred after I left the ice, Canadian Fisheries officials arrested the President of Greenpeace, Dr. Pat Moore, for, as the charge read, "sitting on a seal." Since Pat had not interfered with anyone nearby hunting that seal, and since traditional property law invests ownership in one who catches the quarry, it is strange legal regime which arrests a person for catching his own seal.

Further, there seemed to be unnecessary local official harassment of all the visitors by denying or making very difficult access to the ice, and by threatening Canadian helicopter crews with being "accessories" to unstated offenses if they transported individuals anywhere in the direction of a seal without a government permit to be in the sealing "area." "Area" was conveniently never defined or delineated, despite repeated inquiries by a respected Canadian lawyer accompanying the group. Overreaction can be understandable, but it always is regrettable.

Other than tightening up methods for identifying proper herd management, I will be recommending to the ESC several other matters for its consideration.

Although the method of killing may be humane to the pups, I am concerned that it has an unnecessarily terrifying and shocking impact on the mothers. Perhaps ways may be devised to remove the pups (they can be easily picked up) from the scene before their destruction. Or, herd management principles may allow destruction of only young adults rather than pups.

Second, I would like to ask for a thorough review of American protection of marine mammals, including the fur seals in Alaskan waters, various species of whales including particularly the Bowhead, and the porpoise. Perhaps it is time to enlist the support of other nations in more rational protection of marine mammals, through using various international forums and educational and study programs.

Lastly, we should be making very certain that Americans as individuals or officials are never guilty of restricting access to anyone who desires to observe what we are doing in our "outdoors." First-hand observation has its very good points, on balance. It changes your perspective on things.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, it was a great shock to all of us last November when we received the tragic news from Guyana about Congressman LEO RYAN's death. LEO's death left a void within the forces of those visionaries who dare labor for a world where equality, justice, and love are more honored in practice than in rhetoric.

During the 4 years that I knew LEO, I respected and admired his dedication to those whose voices and concerns were seldom heard and often ignored by persons in positions of power and influence. Indeed, throughout his public career LEO was the representative of the powerless and a voice for the less fortunate in our society—even when they were not his immediate constituents.

Those of us who remain in this Chamber will miss his insight and direction for the complex difficulties which plague our society. For idealists and visionaries like LEO RYAN, foolish enough to throw caution to the winds and express their ardor and faith in some supreme deed, have advanced mankind and have enriched the world.

Mr. HIGHTOWER. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to serve on the Environmental, Energy and Natural Resources Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations during the 95th Congress under the chairmanship of LEO J. RYAN of California.

This committee put in many hours of hearings on very crucial questions of nuclear energy waste and other issues of vital concern to the preservation of our environment.

The chairman was hard working and hard hitting in his approach to every issue. He was not reluctant to describe things as he saw them, and to put difficult questions to the witnesses in order to get the very necessary information that Congress must have if it is to effectively deal with its many problems.

LEO RYAN was conscientious in carrying out his committee and congressional responsibilities.

The fact that LEO RYAN never hesitated to take up a difficult task was another example of the strength of his character and his bravery. The way he moved ahead with assignments or responsibilities that might well have been postponed or assigned to others was evidence of his dogged determination to see a job well done. I do not think that he could be characterized as "fearless" because the term "fearless" could imply an absence of knowledge or reason for concern. "Brave" is the better word which implies a knowledge of danger overcome by a personal strength of character.

LEO RYAN knew that political opposition could be real and formidable yet he did not hesitate and would apparently even court it by his approach to some difficult problems.

In his final mission there were certainly enough reasons for a more cautious or less brave spirit to stand aside and let others investigate the tragedies that were taking place in South America. In his own way he assumed the responsibility that he knew was his, and became one of the few Members of Congress assassinated while in the course of carrying out a difficult congressional responsibility. His name will be honored and his memory must be preserved. In his life and service he demonstrated qualities of character that must be emulated in the years ahead if our Nation is to have the type of brave men and women who will recognize the cost of freedom and be willing to pay that price in meeting the challenge of those who would destroy the Nation itself.

LEO RYAN was a brave man.

I share in a special way the loss of our colleague because he was also a friend.

Mr. PANETTA. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I rise to join my colleagues in memorializing our friend, LEO RYAN.

LEO RYAN, during the several years he served in Congress, was always a great credit to this Chamber. The work he accomplished



on behalf of his district, our State, and the Nation was formidable, and he earned the everlasting respect of everyone who knew and worked with him.

We will remember LEO best, though, for his great courage—the kind of courage that led him to risk, and tragically give, his own life to save the lives of others, caught in the grasp of an evil powerful force. This dedication to helping others, the willingness to put others ahead of himself, should serve as an example for all who strive to work in the public interest. I believe this will be the most important legacy of LEO RYAN.

I would like to express my deepest sympathy to LEO's family. They, of course, will miss him more than anyone. But it is a credit to his life that LEO RYAN will also be remembered by the people of California, and by this entire Nation for his great ability, his courage, and his integrity of purpose. Let us hope that by alerting the world to a horrible situation, by exposing this evil to the light of day, LEO did not die in vain.

MR. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, it was typical of LEO RYAN to take political and physical risk to get to the bottom of a problem. It was also typical of him not to be satisfied with Government assurances without checking out the situation for himself.

His colleagues knew LEO RYAN as a legislator with an inquiring mind and a passionate commitment to what was right. He knew his district intimately, and no legislation or administrative action which affected that district got by without his discerning scrutiny.

LEO RYAN understood that his duty to his constituents could take him beyond Washington, beyond the borders of his district, and out of the country. He died in the line of that duty.

We will miss LEO RYAN. But he left behind him an example of public service which will sustain and inspire us.

MR. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful for the months which have passed since Guyana and now, since I can sift the morbidity and desperation of the place and its people from LEO RYAN's life, which was hopeful, independent, and always straightforward. Those qualities were evident to me from the beginning when LEO and I, as fellow Democrats and Californians, became coworkers. As news of his committee work, particularly in those areas regarding individuals

and their rights and responsibilities in a democratic society, came back to me, I understood that those qualities were only chapter headings to a personality open to the potential of the poorest citizen.

When LEO RYAN died, the resulting publicity painted a black picture for those who like to participate personally in helping others and see things for themselves, as LEO did. The stories also cast clouds on entire agencies, professions, and philosophies which, in less tragic times, generally are considered helpmates and guides for the troubled. None of this is a fitting memorial to LEO RYAN, who thought that the hands-on approach was not only preferable, but also necessary to getting the full picture. As an educator, city and State official, Member of Congress, and humanist, he gave those organizations, jobs, and philosophy a life which no Guyana can take away.

The winter of LEO RYAN's death should be allowed to break up. His life is most important and his deeds held before us as true representation.

Mrs. SPELLMAN. Mr. Speaker, France's Gen. Charles de Gaulle would have had us believe that "every man of action has a strong dose of \* \* \* hardness and cunning." He was willing that those traits be regarded as high qualities indeed if the man could "make of them the means to achieve great ends."

I cannot help but think of my disagreement with his evaluation, Mr. Speaker, as we pause today to eulogize one of this Chamber's own great "men of action," the late Representative LEO J. RYAN.

I am proud to say that LEO RYAN was my friend. I had the distinct honor of serving with this dedicated Californian on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and I can speak firsthand of his total lack of "hardness," of his complete lack of "cunning." Rather he was known for his honesty, his inquisitiveness, his zest for life, and his steady impartiality in matters of all kinds. In LEO RYAN, we knew a man of compassion, a man of candor.

We all witnessed his compassion for the wronged and oppressed and his desire, always, to see justice done. And most of all, Mr. Speaker, we know how LEO RYAN blended these qualities to achieve the "great ends."

As with other such "men of action," LEO was never one to be satisfied, with secondhand reports or hearsay evidence. When a

problem arose, he wanted to see things for himself—to go to the source, the scene of the controversy.

It was this quality that led LEO RYAN to don prison denims for a firsthand look at conditions in California's correctional system and to brave Arctic winds to investigate the senseless slaughter of hundreds of baby seals.

And, ultimately, it was this desire to witness things firsthand that led LEO RYAN to the remote South American airstrip where he, too, was senselessly killed in an outbreak of carnage that rivals any our Nation has seen.

His death was tragic in many respects. LEO RYAN was a true friend who will be sorely missed in this body as well as in his city and his home State. His passing not only deprived us of a source of sound counsel and sage advice but it served to cut short an ever-brightening political career.

Amid our sadness over LEO's death, however, we can all take refuge in the realization that the Nation is better off today because this "man of action" lived.

He spent his last few hours as he had spent his life, seeking truth and justice—firsthand—regardless of the personal consequences. His mission to Guyana, while ending in tragedy, served to insure that others would not suffer even worse fates at the hands of a depraved man and his unseeing followers.

I think, Mr. Speaker, this is how LEO RYAN would want us to remember him on this special day. I feel certain he would want us to recall him as the "man of action" he truly was. I know, Mr. Speaker, all my colleagues will join me in expressing the profound sense of sadness and loss we feel at his untimely passing.

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, one of the advantages of being a Member of the U.S. Congress is the opportunity to create friendships which are sincere and lasting. I am referring to the relationship between the late LEO RYAN and myself.

Although with varying backgrounds between the two of us, to say nothing of the geographical difference between North Carolina and the State of California, this did not prevent us from enjoying one another's presence from time to time. One thing I admired about LEO in addition to his dedication to his job, was his fine sense of humor.

Quite often on rollcall votes, when we had voted the same way, one of us would say to the other, "One of us has voted wrong, I don't know which one it might be!"

Certainly his untimely death was indicative of his life's work in that, as we all know, he gave his life as a personal sacrifice while trying to help others. To his family I again extend condolences, and to some degree share with them a sense of loss, for I feel I have lost a true friend.

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it was with great shock and sadness that I learned of the death of my friend and colleague, LEO J. RYAN, and I am honored to join in paying a well-deserved tribute to his service in the House.

His untimely death cut short a career of exemplary public service. Before entering Congress he had already distinguished himself as a teacher, school administrator, author, city councilman, and mayor in the State of California. During his three terms in Congress he demonstrated an intelligence and competence which won him the respect of all of us.

I had the honor of working with LEO RYAN when we served together on the Environment, Energy and Natural Resources Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations. He succeeded me as chairman of that subcommittee, of which I remained a member; so I had the opportunity to observe firsthand the outstanding contributions he made in these areas. He was also well known for his keen interest in the concerns of his constituents, and for his insistence on investigating firsthand matters within his legislative responsibility. That he died in the performance of his duties as a Congressman exemplifies his extraordinary dedication to public service.

A man of indefatigable energy and courage, both physical and moral, his absence in the Congress will be keenly felt.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the violent and untimely death of LEO RYAN was a shock to us all. The circumstances of his passing will long be remembered as among the most tragic and bizarre. LEO's unexpected death is a loss to the House and to those of us who worked with him on the Committee on Government Operations.

LEO brought to the Congress and the committee a background of experience as an educator, school administrator, city councilman,



mayor, and State legislator. This experience helped him to quickly grasp the crux of an issue and pursue it vigorously.

The members of the Committee on Government Operations will remember him for his commitment to protection of our environment, development of alternate energy sources, and concern for strong autonomous, local control of public schools. He was an active and effective committee member.

I add my voice to those who today pay their respects to LEO J. RYAN and join in this tribute to his memory.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, it is highly appropriate that we take the time today to pay tribute to our friend and colleague, the late LEO J. RYAN.

I do not wish at this time to discuss the question of whether the State Department and its representatives were in any way at fault in connection with Mr. RYAN's visit to Jonestown which ended so tragically. But I would like to say that LEO RYAN obviously felt that he should visit Jonestown in the line of duty and that, as a man of great courage, it was in character for him to do so whether or not he felt he would be in any danger.

I had the privilege of serving with LEO RYAN on the International Relations Committee. His comments were always thoughtful and well expressed, and his participation was constructive. It is interesting to note that 2 years ago Mr. RYAN actively supported the idea of changing the committee's name back to "Foreign Affairs." His view did not prevail then, but its wisdom was recognized earlier today when the committee decided thus to reassume its traditional name.

I do not mean to suggest that LEO RYAN and I were always in agreement on the issues. Indeed we had our differences. But I always found that LEO was an honorable, as well as a formidable, opponent in debate.

LEO RYAN's qualities as a legislator, as an investigator, and as a human being became very clear to me on a factfinding trip we took together to the Middle East in January 1974. The questions he asked were penetrating and revealed a remarkably wide knowledge of the countries we visited, and his friendly nature and sense of humor made him an excellent traveling companion.

We shall miss LEO RYAN very much in the House and on the Foreign Affairs Committee. I join with my colleagues in extending to LEO's family our deepest sympathy.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we were all shocked to learn of the tragic death of our gallant colleague, LEO RYAN. Today, we pay tribute to a fine man, outstanding legislator, and a dedicated public official whose death was a result of his desire to effectively serve his constituents.

LEO will certainly be remembered as a man of the highest ideals, and it was more than a great tragedy that his career was cut short before he had the opportunity to accomplish all the things he was capable of and wanted to do. His investigative qualities and appetite for information and truth were insatiable.

LEO was wholeheartedly responsive to the needs of our Nation and of his district. He displayed courage and determination in serving the inquiries of his constituents by taking his fateful trip to Guyana. He had all the qualities and talent that are essential to the makeup of an effective legislator.

We served together on the International Relations Committee, where I found LEO to be tirelessly dedicated, conscientious, and always constructive. LEO set an example of hard work and outstanding leadership.

I had hoped to join LEO in Guyana, but it was the fortunes of fate that intervened. Hopefully, this tragic turn of events will give rise to our need to fully look into the circumstances that surrounded the Jonestown community.

In the death of LEO RYAN, we have lost a great man, a great leader, and a great statesman. The country has lost a man of great stature, and we have lost a good friend and a good human being.

Mrs. Derwinski joins with me in extending our heartfelt sympathy to the entire Ryan family.

Mrs. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, on November 18 last year, the world was shocked by the senseless killing in Guyana that took the life of LEO J. RYAN, our colleague representing the 11th District in San Mateo County, Calif. At a time when our country is at peace with other countries in the world, it does not seem so obvious that we are indeed quite involved in wars against extremism, in wars against

bigotry, and in wars against ignorance. LEO RYAN was one of those warriors who chose to go on one of those battlefields. It was a dangerous undertaking. He was a sincere and dedicated Member of Congress who was deeply concerned about his constituents held hostage by the Jones cult. He went beyond the call of normal duty and paid dearly for it.

LEO RYAN was a teacher by training and he was always trying to understand his charges—his students. He was compassionate and was always concerned about their problems. He was sensitive to the educational needs of the deaf. This was manifest in his service as a member of the board of governors of Gallaudet College, the National College for the Deaf, in Washington, D.C. He was a decent human being.

Mr. Speaker, LEO RYAN is and will be missed in this Chamber.

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened and shocked to receive word of the passing of our beloved and esteemed colleague, LEO J. RYAN.

He was one of the truly great humanitarians in the House. I knew of no Member who was more interested in the welfare of the people of this country and especially of those who needed help than our friend, Representative RYAN. He was a man of courage and he always believed that in order to ascertain the truth you must at first hand, know all of the facts. He exemplified the best qualities of a public servant and he was unswervingly loyal to our country. It was a privilege to know LEO J. RYAN and to work with him as a Member of the House of Representatives. He will long be remembered as a dedicated and conscientious legislator whose interest in the health and welfare of the people throughout the Nation was translated into action.

He was a patriotic citizen, a devout Democrat, and a man of reason and integrity.

Mr. Speaker, our departed friend and colleague enjoyed the friendship and the respect of his colleagues throughout the Congress and while we shall greatly miss his presence, the results of his work in terms of a richer and better life for countless people will stand as a monument to him in his district, State, and the Nation.

His fine family has every right to be proud of his distinguished record and my heartfelt sympathy is with the Ryan family. It is my



prayer that they will be comforted in the knowledge that LEO J. RYAN deserves the highest tribute of all—that of a just and honorable man.

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply saddened to speak today of the violent death of my good friend and colleague, the Honorable LEO J. RYAN, who gave his life while attempting to help his constituents and the American people.

LEO RYAN's untimely death has cut short a career of public service which exemplified the best in American politics. Before entering the Congress he had already achieved a record of distinction as city councilman and mayor of South San Francisco and as a State assemblyman. During his almost three terms in the House he quickly demonstrated an intelligence and competence which won him the respect of all his colleagues.

I had the privilege and honor to serve on the House International Relations Committee with Congressman RYAN and through my many discussions and meetings with him I came to know him as a man of indefatigable energy and courage, both physical and moral.

Congressman LEO J. RYAN dedicated his public life to preserving the rights of the people of the 11th District of California and the American people he loved so dearly.

I deeply enjoyed my years working with him and I consider it a deep personal privilege to have known him. His absence in the Congress will be keenly felt.

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, the untimely death of LEO RYAN has left everyone of us saddened. He died as he lived, in service to his constituents. Congressman RYAN was a hard-working, dedicated public servant who was held in genuine affection by all who knew him, regardless of their political persuasion.

His concern for the well-being of his people exemplifies the highest tradition of service, and I know I speak for all of my colleagues on my side of the aisle when I say that we shall miss him.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in memorializing our late friend and colleague, LEO RYAN. This distinguished body has had in its midst many people of courage, many Members whose public service has aided not only their constituents, but the entire Nation.

LEO RYAN epitomized these traits. He approached his role of serving his constituency with a sense of mission. He was of the people and

never far from their concerns. Where others have come to Washington to represent their constituents, and have soon become removed from them, LEO RYAN remained in touch and involved.

What is most extraordinary about LEO RYAN is the compassion he displayed for his constituents and his determination in getting the facts about the People's Temple. On the face of it, it seems incredible that he persisted in investigating the People's Temple. Jim Jones was hailed from all sides as a religious sociologist, a civil rights worker whose inspiration uplifted the hopeless poor. Jones had friends among the powerful, and had held public office in San Francisco. The few dissenting voices about his character and his mission were often and easily discounted in the face of the intense support from his followers and friends. When reports of mistreatment and involuntary residence at Jonestown came to RYAN through his constituents, he at first employed the normal channels of investigation, the proper Federal agencies. Most people would have quit when positive reports of the Jonestown commune came back from the State Department. Few would have checked further after the State Department reported that they had interviewed many members of the cult in privacy. But RYAN knew his constituents well enough to be skeptical of such reports, and he cared enough about them to do more than his duty.

RYAN was the kind of investigative Congressman that this Nation needs and values. His courage in getting to the bottom of the People's Temple situation was unparalleled. He was undaunted by warnings of personal danger in his mission to Guyana. His trip was not a "media event" or a publicity stunt to get himself in the news.

LEO RYAN's compassion and perseverance can be a lesson to us all. His tragic death and the ghastly events which followed horrified the Nation and the world. The entire situation has sparked a national debate concerning the nature of cults and the role of the Federal Government in investigating them. Long-avoided questions concerning religious freedom versus the phenomenon of cults are being addressed head-on. In-depth discussion of these questions is long overdue.

We in the Congress can say that we respect the ideal that LEO RYAN represented, and will hold him as an example of a public servant who envisioned his role as one of unqualified pursuit and promotion of America's most cherished values.

Mr. GORE. Mr. Speaker, I want to add my own comments to this tribute that we are paying today to LEO RYAN.

As a new Member of the 95th Congress, I had the privilege of serving with LEO RYAN for only 2 years. During that short time, I came to know him as a friend and to respect him as a colleague. He was a man of great ability and dedication. He worked hard and cared deeply about the issues he worked on, especially issues affecting human rights in this country and throughout the world.

The incredible series of events which followed LEO RYAN's death has left all of us, I am sure, with unanswered questions about how such a grotesque tragedy could occur. But for those of us in this House, the tragedy is keenly felt. We have lost a friend, and this House has lost a valued Member. We will miss LEO RYAN very much.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, it was with great sorrow that I learned of the death of my friend and colleague LEO RYAN.

LEO's compassion for the poor and disadvantaged, a compassion which set the tone of his long and distinguished career of public service, finally led him to his death in Guyana. The motives that guided him to that strange country could not have been better; in LEO we find the rare quality of true and pure altruism. If one must die so young it is best to die for a cause so just.

From serviceman to schoolteacher, from schoolteacher to elected official, LEO RYAN led a life of unceasing service. Time and again, he put the causes of others above his own safety. No more can be asked of any public servant, and the people of California have lost a dedicated and irreplaceable representative. Likewise, we in Congress have lost a dedicated and irreplaceable friend and colleague.

We must long remember the fearlessness with which LEO championed the cause of the poor and underprivileged. His compassionate crusades for the championless will serve as an inspiration for us all.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I too at this time wish to pay tribute to our departed colleague, LEO J. RYAN.

His tragic and untimely death shocked the Nation and took from this body one of its most vigorous and dedicated Members.

The fervent commitment he made to public service never waned. He was independent of mind and intense in spirit. LEO RYAN's dogged determination and persistence in seeking out the truth will long be remembered by those of us who served with him and those

citizens of California's 11th Congressional District who he so ably served.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in expressing my sorrow at the tragic death of LEO RYAN, Democrat, conservationist, political activist, concerned citizen—whatever label could be applied to this man—LEO RYAN was above all a leader of uncommon courage and a gentleman of the first order. He was my friend, and his loss will be felt by this Congress.

Throughout his years in this Chamber, LEO RYAN consistently demonstrated the kind of interest and concern for people which should be the motivating force behind the career of any politician. I looked to him as a man who truly cared about his constituents, and about injustice wherever he sensed it might exist.

Despite the known danger, this great concern for others led LEO RYAN to his fate in Guyana. He lost his life seeking to expose inequity, and in so doing revealed the monstrous injustice taking place in that little-known corner of the world.

It may be that LEO's need to know and his spirit of overcoming obstacles to that knowledge will outlast any lesser achievements that the rest of us claim. That was LEO RYAN's true spirit and his enduring legacy.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues in commemorating the life and work of LEO RYAN. As a Congressman from California, he served his constituents and his Nation with intelligence, determination, and integrity. LEO RYAN knew his own mind and followed his conscience on the issues. He was forthright with his colleagues and true to his word.

Mr. Speaker, LEO RYAN's tragic death in the South American jungle will not easily slip from our memories. His was a lifetime of concern for individuals. His instincts always were to try to understand what troubled people and to get at the cause of the problem. He traveled to Guyana because of his pursuit of truth and social justice. In his life as in his death LEO RYAN showed tremendous courage.

We have lost a proud American and a good human being.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join with my fellow colleagues to eulogize and commemorate the outstanding work of our late friend and colleague, LEO J. RYAN. A truly



unique individual, LEO's tragic and untimely death signals a tremendous loss to this congressional body, as well as to others who knew and depended upon him.

A congenial activist with whom I had the pleasure of serving the people of the San Francisco Bay Area for over 6 years, LEO exhibited a special interest in understanding the concerns of his constituents. This interest ran especially deep for the oppressed and helpless. LEO demonstrated his concern in the way he committed himself to problem-solving. In an effort to better grasp the issue, it was typical of LEO to personally undertake the factfinding mission. During his 10 years in the California Assembly, LEO once spent 8 days as an inmate in the Folsom Prison to understand prison conditions. Following the Watts riots in Los Angeles, Calif., LEO took an assumed name, moved in with a black family, and became a substitute teacher in the area, hoping to discover the reasons for the unrest.

A determined and persistent spirit, gifted with a probing mind, LEO tackled issues with a zeal worthy of the attention and respect of his constituents and colleagues alike. It was this same sense of mission and gusto which characterized LEO's life that brought him to his senseless death while investigating constituent concerns surrounding the mysteries of Guyana. Regrettably, his spirit no longer graces us.

I would like to take a final moment to express my deepest felt sympathies to the Ryan family and loved ones. Your loss is a great one. LEO was a fine man and an accomplished Congressman. His contributions to the welfare of the people of the San Francisco Bay Area and the people of this country are great ones. We are immensely proud of LEO, and he shall be fondly remembered, I am sure, by us all.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of the late Congressman LEO RYAN of California's 11th District. His many friends here in Congress will certainly miss this hard and dedicated worker who will be remembered for his willingness to set aside his own safety in order to better serve his constituents.

He was a man of action and of principle who was unafraid to tackle any issue. And his quest for solutions to difficult human problems led him to live as an inmate at Folsom Prison and to substitute teach in Watts long before his fateful trip to Guyana.

LEO served his constituents faithfully and well during his 6 years in Congress and had been easily reelected to serve in the 96th Congress just prior to embarking on his factfinding trip to Guyana. It is, indeed, regrettable that LEO was not given the opportunity to follow through on the many issues and causes he felt so strongly about.

We are all deeply saddened by the senseless death of this able and dedicated public servant.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the tragic death last month of LEO RYAN took from us a respected colleague, a good friend and a dedicated public servant. His death has created a void that will be difficult to fill.

I had the privilege of serving with LEO RYAN on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. He was a conscientious, hard-working member of the committee, whose enthusiasm was an inspiration to all of us.

LEO was the kind of legislator who worked at his job 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. He was a Congressman in the very finest sense of the word. He was also an extremely fine human being, and was respected by every Member of this House.

My wife, Martha, and I extend our heartfelt condolences to LEO's family and loved ones.

Mr. SHUMWAY. Mr. Speaker, like most Americans, I was not only saddened to learn of the tragic death of LEO RYAN—I was appalled. When the Federal flags are lowered to half-mast across our Nation to mark the loss of one of our Members, it is seldom from so violent a cause.

As a Member newly elected to the 96th Congress, I did not have the privilege of working with LEO RYAN, nor can I claim as many of my colleagues can to have known him personally over the years. However, that does not lessen the level of my respect for him as a legislator, and as a man.

As a legislator myself, I admired his dedicated efforts on behalf of California's 11th Congressional District.

As a man who believes in the value of truth, I admired his determination to ferret out the truth in every situation, no matter what dangers his search might incur.

Finally, as a fellow human being, I lament the bizarre and vicious forces which robbed LEO RYAN of his life, and I deplore the fact that the contributions of so fine a man were clouded amid the lurid coverage which chose to lionize his enemies rather than to eulogize his memory.

My wife and family join with me in extending sincere condolences to those whom LEO RYAN left behind.

Mr. BAFALIS. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of sorrow that I rise to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the late LEO RYAN, who died so tragically in Guyana.

LEO RYAN came to the Congress the same year I did, as a Member of the 93d Congress. But it was obvious from the start he was not to be a run-of-the-mill Member of Congress.

All of us believe in service to our constituents. After all, that is why we are here. But LEO RYAN was willing to take that extra step, make the extra effort to assist those who needed—or thought they needed—his help.

That is why he was in Guyana. The reports of individuals held against their will in Jonestown were too persistent, too damning to be ignored by LEO RYAN. It was a matter which cried for examination, even though an examination meant he had to go to Guyana.

We all know what happened when LEO RYAN arrived in the People's Temple commune and the terrible aftermath, so there is no need for us to recount that here.

But, what we must do is remember the example LEO RYAN set, remember that the people's problems are our problems and be willing to take the extra step, ask the extra question, and give that extra effort to help them.

That is what LEO RYAN did. And it was in the highest traditions of the House of Representatives.

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Speaker, shortly before Congress adjourned last fall, I sat in the House of Representatives with LEO RYAN and talked about the session that was about to conclude. During the discussion, we talked about his concerns about the People's Temple cult and the research he had done into the possible damage this group was doing to the individuals who had joined it. At that time I knew virtually nothing about the group, but listened with great interest as



he talked about possibly going to visit the cult in Guyana, and the dangers of such a mission.

While I knew little about the cult or their operation, I did know LEO RYAN's concern for the people he represented and the people of this country. That had become personally clear to me in 1977 when the Jonestown area—which I represent—suffered a disastrous flood. LEO RYAN sent his committee staff out to investigate the situation and offered me the complete assistance of himself and his staff as the community struggled to recover from the terrible flood. After the work was done and the community beginning to get back on its feet, he talked to me about the Federal laws on dam safety, water runoff, and weather forecasting to see what could be done to prevent such tragedies from occurring elsewhere.

Thus, I well knew of LEO RYAN's concern for people and his efforts to improve their lives through his Government service. Therefore, I was not surprised he went to Guyana, despite the risks involved. That kind of concern is in the highest tradition of the U.S. Congress.

We all learned from LEO RYAN's dedication and concern, and we will all miss him.

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to pay tribute to LEO RYAN, whose legacy as a courageous champion of human rights is an example for us all.

We remember LEO as a leader who never hesitated to take a stand and make a mark. We remember both his serious commitment to the highest standards of public service and the lighthearted sparkle of his Irish wit.

Characteristically, LEO's last mission demonstrated his determination to investigate widespread reports of human abuse, even in the face of great personal risk.

In defining moral courage, John Kennedy once said :

A man does what he must—in spite of personal consequences, in spite of obstacles and dangers and pressures—and that is the basis of all human morality.

LEO RYAN was such a man, and I shall miss him.

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, the shocking and ruthless slaughter of LEO RYAN remains vivid in the minds of all Americans. For those of us who served with him, the horrors of paranoia and senseless

brutality leave a numb and hollow feeling. LEO was by far one of the most conscientious and responsible men ever to serve in Congress. He will be remembered for many reasons, but his total commitment to the people of the 11th District of California can never be denied.

While our service together in Congress was brief, and our areas of concentration different, I was afforded the opportunity to travel abroad with LEO, and experience firsthand his keen ability to perceive critical international issues and immediately act to bring some degree of resolution to conflicts and problems. He was an outstanding representative of the United States wherever he traveled.

LEO's inquiring mind and commitment to his constituents won their trust and confidence in his leadership and concern for their needs and problems. It was this dedication to those people which resulted in his untimely death.

LEO's zest for life and unquenchable thirst for truth, fairness, and freedom will long be remembered by all who worked with him, and especially, those people he devoted each day to helping. His work will continue, but his determination and selfless dedication to public service will be hard to equal. His presence and achievements as a Member of this body will be sorely missed.

Mr. RICHMOND. Mr. Speaker, today we honor the memory of our colleague and our friend, LEO RYAN, as decent, dedicated, and good-natured a man as anyone could ever hope to meet. While maintaining his infectious good humor, he nevertheless carried out his responsibility to his constituents and to his fellow citizens with the utmost seriousness.

Throughout his career in public service, LEO RYAN believed it was his duty as an elected official to experience firsthand the problems his constituents faced as the best means of resolving those problems. He defied the risk of danger in his quest for the truth, wherever that quest led him. It was on just such a mission, in a faraway jungle—on yet another personal effort to find the facts he needed to help his fellow Americans—that he gave his life.

We will all miss this warm, sensitive, and compassionate man whose exemplary sense of duty guided his every action in public life.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join the many friends and associates who today rise to pay tribute to our colleague, Congressman LEO RYAN.

It was saddening to all of us to learn of Congressman RYAN's tragic death, but it was not surprising to those who knew him to hear that he was busy in what he conceived to be service to his district, State, and country when he met his untimely end.

LEO RYAN's contributions will be long remembered.

To his bereaved family we extend our deepest sympathy.

Mr. DELLUMS. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I recall today the image of LEO J. RYAN, the man and the Representative.

The dramatic events surrounding LEO's tragic death are of a dimension that is difficult to ponder. Words cannot describe, nor thoughts conceive, the horror that occurred at Jonestown. LEO knew that there might be trouble, yet went forth courageously because he knew that concerned relatives of the People's Temple members were depending on him.

Throughout his career, LEO RYAN was a man who cared about people's welfare, who cared about the impact of laws upon society, and who took up the cudgel himself when it came time to take a stand on controversial issues. His eagerness to do all he could for the 11th District of California, and for the Nation as a whole, was exemplary.

Of course, he will be missed by all of us, but it goes deeper than that. LEO stood for something that we all cherish more highly than even life itself—that is, dedication to the cause of humanity and justice. The manner of LEO's death speaks for the nature of his dedication to that cause. It is with humble admiration that I reflect upon his courage, vision, and compassion in having been willing to die for the sake of rescuing American citizens trapped in a situation that was threatening their most basic freedoms. I can think of no more noble purpose than that.

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, in paying tribute to my friend and colleague, LEO RYAN, I am reminded of the words by John Donne:

No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manner of thy friends or thine own were; any man's death diminishes me because I am involved in mankind; and therefore, never send to know for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee.

I had the privilege and distinct honor of knowing LEO since he first came to the Congress in 1973. As members of the California delegation, we worked together on a variety of projects beneficial to the State and also served together on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

Public services meant a great deal to LEO RYAN—it meant a personal commitment and involvement in any matter that came to his attention. When I reread the words of John Donne, I was particularly struck by the phrase, “any man’s death diminishes me because I am involved in mankind.” LEO RYAN could have said those words. It was not in his nature to work solely for himself, but for the good of everyone. No problem in society was too complicated or sensitive for his interest.

In the past several years, we have been hearing a great deal about “investigative journalism.” For LEO RYAN, “investigative representation” was his trademark and his contribution to the people of this country.

Receiving reports from various Government agencies was just not enough for him. And, unfortunately, his commitment to “seeing something for himself” not only proved there is a need for such involvement, but also tragically resulted in his untimely death.

We who served with him in the Congress know how hard he worked on legislative and constituent matters. His priorities were people and their problems.

In a much larger sense, we in the Congress not only owe him our gratitude, but society as a whole should also be thankful there was a LEO RYAN. If it is possible to the public’s conscience, then LEO RYAN fits the bill. He raised the level of public awareness on so many different issues, it would be impossible to reiterate them all at this time. That awareness has had a profound effect on many, many people so that in solving one problem for a person or a group of people, he managed to benefit larger segments of society. Suffice to say, LEO RYAN believed in solving problems and placing himself and his reputation on the line to figure out solutions.

His motto was—you cannot solve a problem unless you personally know the facts. That meant employing all the tools open to a Representative—committee meetings, briefings, information from



colleagues and constituents, and of course, seeing something firsthand. To illustrate just one way person involvement is a must is to consider the amount of money the Federal Government spends. When you authorize billion of dollars, it makes sense to see precisely how that money is being spent.

He was thorough, dedicated, and extremely hardworking. He was widely respected by both his peers and the people he represented. It is my hope that the legacy LEO RYAN left us will continue on.

Mr. DERRICK. Mr. Speaker, there is no way for any of us to address the death of Congressman LEO RYAN. For this senseless tragedy, away from our shores and in harm's way, has numbed us all. Yet in its aftermath what still remains is the legacy and testament of a man who was willing to serve those whom he represented regardless of cost or danger.

It is compelling to hold up such a life as the pinnacle of public service. Certainly, LEO RYAN's achievements warrant such an accolade. I know I need not tell my colleagues in the Congress or the people of California's 11th District that he cannot be replaced. As this historic and important 96th Congress begins, we shall all miss LEO RYAN very much.

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, no doubt we were all equally shocked and dismayed by the tragic death last year in Guyana of our former colleague, LEO J. RYAN. As one who served with him on the Committee on Government Operations from the time he was first elected to Congress, I can attest to the fact that his trip to that foreign land was not an uncommon act when one considers the uncommon nature of LEO RYAN.

He always showed great courage and remained true to his convictions. As chairman of the Environment, Energy and Natural Resources Subcommittee, he led the fight for what he believed to be best for the future of our Nation and, although he and I often disagreed with one another during committee debates on important issues, I like to believe that our disagreements were always expressed in the best tradition of congressional debates and we certainly never let our disagreements interfere with our friendship. He always proved a worthy adversary in any debate and never backed off or retreated from what he felt was right.

LEO always sought the truth and was committed to diligent research, even if it meant long hours reading through volumes of reports or traveling to foreign countries to discern the relevant facts.

He knew there were risks in the course he charted but he could live no other way. His entire career of public service documents the fact that he was willing to take whatever personal risks were essential to his quest for answers to questions many believed could not be answered. He never considered any problem insurmountable and continued his search for ways to make ours a better society in which to live.

He was indeed an uncommon man, one we will all miss deeply. Too few in any generation are willing to take up the challenges LEO assumed as normal tasks to undertake and it is a sad occasion, not only for his family, but for the entire Nation when we lost such an individual.

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay tribute to the passing of LEO J. RYAN. As a fellow Californian and as a man who shared many of the same concerns, I will truly sense the loss of this man.

LEO RYAN was a Member of Congress who practiced an active style of leadership. Not content with reports of vital issues and events, he sought first hand information and experience of those things with which he was concerned. He pursued environmental issues with equal enthusiasm, especially in the areas of dam and nuclear safety.

As we enter the 96th Congress, LEO J. RYAN will be missed. He was a respected leader and an effective lawmaker.

Mr. MINETA. Mr. Speaker, much has been said and written about the bizarre events in Guyana last November, when the entire world was shocked by the cult which LEO RYAN was investigating. Let me say, simply, that LEO RYAN will be missed here in the Congress.

In recent years, we have seen many Members of Congress decide to call it quits because they tired of living in the public eye, they tired of the 80-hour workweek, and they tired of the constant pressure. LEO RYAN did not tire. He recognized that serving in Washington as a Representative is not a privilege, it is a duty. He accepted the workload and the pressure, and he learned to focus that public eye on in-



justice. To LEO RYAN, investigating and exposing the intimidation and oppression of the helpless was simply a part of his job as Congressman. Whether it concerned disaffected cultists, or harp seals, or citizens having problems with a government agency, LEO felt an obligation to help and to use his power on their behalf.

LEO RYAN will also be sorely missed in California, in the bay area, and in the communities comprising the 11th Congressional District which he served. He became a familiar figure to all of us in the bay area as a State legislator during the 1960's, and he has been elected to Congress by resounding majorities since he first ran in 1972.

Mr. Speaker, LEO RYAN's energy, his commitment, and his sense of responsibility were an inspiration, and those qualities will remain as his legacy to Congress and to public servants everywhere.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, the word "Jonestown" stirs outrage in all of us since the tragic events of last November. Much of that outrage comes from the senselessness of what happened. The circumstances behind the loss of life were so bizarre as to be almost unbelievable. Even as the stories of the strange occurrences at the People's Temple continue to unfold, they still seem to be unreal.

At a time when many claim that their Representatives are unresponsive to the needs of the people, LEO RYAN stood ready to investigate their concerns. Whether that involved becoming a prison inmate in California to see firsthand correctional facility conditions or trekking to Newfoundland to witness the slaughter of baby seals, that firsthand look at the issues of importance to his constituents was what made him an outstanding Member of Congress.

Congressman LEO RYAN would not ignore the concerns of his constituents. He was always available, always accessible. As the media have continued to note since the tragedy in Guyana, he took the time and trouble to find things out for himself. It was such concern that brought him to Guyana to look into charges and accounts about the practices at Jonestown.

We should not let LEO RYAN's tragic death deter us from continuing his method of obtaining information firsthand or exposing ourselves to the problems and issues for which our constituents look to us for answers, and of displaying visible concern and sensitivity to the needs of the people we represent. This is the legacy of LEO J. RYAN.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, with the death of LEO RYAN, the U.S. House of Representatives lost one of the most honest individuals ever to grace its Chambers. I personally lost a close friend for whom I had tremendous respect. The underprivileged have lost a friend who defended human rights in every sense.

LEO was a man of courage. He would not retreat from a sound position, even if it proved to be unpopular.

LEO was a leader. The record is full of examples where he was among the first to champion a position that later, sometimes much later, became the prevailing point of view.

He was one of the few who had a total commitment to the right of every human being to live in a free, safe, and peaceful world. His efforts for a sane policy of nuclear energy, withholding economic and military support from countries who are gross violators of human rights, and a responsive and effective federal system should be remembered long after the horror of Jonestown has dimmed.

LEO died as he lived—looking for the truth and unafraid of it when he found it. I am proud that he counted me among his friends in Congress.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues today in paying tribute to the life and good works of the late LEO RYAN of California. His tragic and untimely death was a shock to all of us and resulted in a great loss to this Chamber.

LEO was known, well known, for his dedication and tenacity. Once he tackled a problem, he tackled it with all his human capabilities. He was never one to shirk his responsibilities.

That LEO lost his life “on the job” is indicative of the type of public servant he was. He was never satisfied to let others investigate problems. He had a deep and abiding interest his entire life in learning from personal experience the problems facing his fellow Americans. He rightfully felt that only through personal experience could he offer workable solutions.

I join with my colleagues in offering deep-felt condolences to LEO’s family and our thanks for having had the privilege to serve with him.

Mr. LENT. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to join in this tribute to our courageous friend and colleague LEO RYAN. His untimely death dealt all of us a stunning jolt.

We who worked with LEO in the House of Representatives knew well of his intense dedication to the interests of his constituents, and his determination to personally attend to investigating and remedying their problems and difficulties wherever possible.

We were not surprised, therefore, when LEO journeyed thousands of miles from the United States deep into the South American jungle on the mission which claimed his life. This determination to get the facts at firsthand was LEO's method of dealing with problems troubling his constituents.

I well remember LEO RYAN's strenuous efforts against the attempts of the United States to allow the *Concorde* SST to land in the United States bringing its added burden of noise to those living near its base of operations. His work assembled voluminous scientific evidence to support his case.

Mr. Speaker, our Nation sorely needs legislators with LEO RYAN's ability and dedication in searching out the truth on matters of concern to constituents. His death is a great loss, not only to the 11th Congressional District of California, but to our entire Nation.

We in the House of Representatives shall miss LEO's informed guidance on legislative matters, the inspiration of his dedicated search for the truth, and his personal friendship.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I will always remember LEO RYAN—the gallant leader of that fateful mission to Jonestown—as a dedicated public servant and a true profile in courage. His forceful presence in the Congress will be missed by us all.

To be sure, LEO was a dedicated Congressman who tried very hard to keep his pledges to his constituents. In attempting to serve his constituents—by examining threats to their lives and their loved ones, by investigating reports of mistreatment to American citizens, LEO RYAN was tragically killed.

For several years, I had the good fortune to serve with LEO on the House International Relations Committee. In both our committee work and on our trips abroad, including a study mission to the Middle East a year ago this month, I found him to be a creative and dedicated public servant. Moreover, in serving the public, LEO had a tremendous thirst for the truth. It was this sense of public mission, as well as LEO's quest for the truth, which was so constant and so ad-

mirable and which, in the end, led to the Saturday nightmare of November 18, 1978.

Courageous and dedicated—persistent and forceful—these were the virtues so well understood and admired in the gentleman from California—the gentleman who died in a faraway jungle in service to his people and to his country.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, this remarkable man, LEO RYAN, was my friend. I grieve for him and for his family, as well as for the California people that he loved and served so well.

It was LEO's courage and compassion—two of his exceptional qualities—that led to his tragic and untimely death.

We had a close and very satisfying relationship. In the fall and summer of 1978, LEO was a pillar of strength on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, as we wrestled to complete civil service reform. He was fiercely independent of pressures and could be counted on to do the right thing.

LEO offered to come to Arizona and campaign for me last year, at his own expense. That was the kind of guy he was.

I shall miss him. He was truly a good man.

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the shocking death of Congressman LEO J. RYAN of California, resulting from the tragedy in Guyana, brought grief to this House and Nation. So it is fitting that we take this opportunity today to pay tribute to our late friend and colleague.

The way that LEO RYAN met his death revealed much about the way he lived his life. He was a dedicated public servant, unafraid to go where his convictions and interests might take him. And that he did, as is evidenced by his fateful mission to Jonestown. With the advantages of hindsight, we all wish that LEO had never gone to Guyana; nevertheless, by doing so, LEO acted on the dictates of his conscience and in the best interests of his constituents.

Thucydides, who wrote this history of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, once wrote:

But the bravest are surely those who have the clearest vision of what is before them, glory and danger alike, and yet notwithstanding go out and meet it.

I know of no more appropriate words to describe the life and actions of LEO RYAN.



Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege of working with LEO RYAN on the Government Operations and the International Relations Committees. He was an earnest, warm, and down-to-earth person who had a keen sensitivity to the problems of his fellow man. He believed deeply in the people of this country, and his years in public service were dedicated to better understanding the problems of every individual.

LEO RYAN was a very determined go-getter. He was not content to sit back and wait for the pieces of a puzzle to fall into place. Rather, he went firsthand behind the scenes of every issue, probing and questioning until he was certain that he had the facts. This search for the facts led him to take a teaching position in riot-torn Watts in order to learn about the problems of education there. It led him to spend a week as an inmate at Folsom Prison to learn about the difficulties of prison life. And, finally, it led him to Jonestown.

The shadow of the Guyana tragedy is still upon us as we remember the persistence and courage of our colleague from California, LEO RYAN. We pay tribute to a man who believed that every person was worth helping, and that every problem could, and should, be confronted. His untimely death robbed the House of Representatives of one of its most dedicated Members, but his enthusiasm and his concern stand as a tribute to this great body. Let us not quickly forget LEO RYAN's zeal for truth as we continually seek better ways in which to serve those who have placed their trust in us.

We shall all miss LEO RYAN. I extend my deepest sympathy to his mother and other members of his family.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, LEO RYAN was a Congressman in the best sense of the word. Respected by his colleagues, he was a man who always wanted to see how things worked—or failed to work—firsthand.

He always wanted to act as his own interpreter of life and people. There was no room for a middleman in LEO RYAN's life.

Although we deplore the tragic end to his life, we recognize that in dying, LEO opened an international inquiry into the very roots and causes of life and people. In a way, such a global debate would have appealed to LEO and is a testimonial to a full life of public service.

I will miss LEO RYAN in the House of Representatives as a friend and as a legislator. And, I extend sympathy and condolences to his family.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, LEO RYAN was a fine man. Mrs. Gibbons and I first learned to know him during our work with LEO and the members of the European Parliament.

LEO was courageous and brave. He was a man of principle and could state his principles with clarity and vigor. He was also a very friendly person and during our long plane trips and sometimes exhausting conferences we got to know LEO very well. We loved him and we will miss him, and we extend our good wishes and prayers to his family.

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, it was with profound sorrow that I learned last November of the death of my friend and colleague, Congressman LEO J. RYAN.

LEO and I served side by side for 2 years on the Government Operations Subcommittee on Environment, Energy, and Natural Resources. Under his chairmanship, no issue was too controversial for consideration by the subcommittee, and no issues of special interest to individual subcommittee members were too unimportant for LEO's personal attention. LEO distinguished himself during the 95th Congress through the subcommittee's work on airport noise control, oilspill prevention, the economics of nuclear power, and oversight of Federal solar energy, radioactive waste disposal, and radiation protection programs.

Even when LEO and I found ourselves on opposing sides of an issue—as was the case when we debated the merits of holding the 1980 summer Olympics in Moscow—I found him to be an able, articulate, and honorable spokesman for the views he represented.

LEO was a Member with unique style, whose personal commitment to his job and to his constituents was unsurpassed. His presence will be missed in this Chamber.

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Speaker, LEO RYAN was an aggressive and creative legislator whose dedication to his constituents and sense of duty eventually took him to a tragic death on a jungle airstrip in Guyana.

LEO served on my Government Operations Subcommittee and I served on his Subcommittee on Environment, Energy, and Natural Resources. It was through our work together that I learned to appreciate the vigor and enthusiasm he brought to his work in the



House. I remember going out to Dulles Airport with LEO to measure the noise levels of the first *Concorde* landing. We stood in the woods far from the terminal with a couple of scientists to record the engine roar of the landings. LEO was all enthusiasm and excitement which demonstrated his real interest in insuring compliance with the law. He really wanted to get the facts firsthand. Most Members would have been content to read in the newspaper what the noise readings were; not LEO.

Only time will temper the tragedy and horror of the events in Guyana, but I hope the knowledge of how highly regarded and respected LEO was will ease some of the sorrow felt by his loved ones.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, when recollecting those who have served above and beyond the call of duty, we cannot fail to include our beloved and martyred colleague, Congressman LEO RYAN of California. The human concerns and dedication to constituent service exemplified in the public career of LEO RYAN are unsurpassed.

My personal experiences with LEO were related more particularly to a joint concern that he and I shared for the welfare of those who live in the hazardous areas adjoining or below private and public dams—dams which might fail and bring death and tragedy to those who lie in the path of a wall of uncontrolled water. LEO RYAN's concern in the case of such a catastrophe is comparable to the concerns which he expressed for constituents who became victims of a distorted program and actions of some misguided leaders of the People's Temple.

Mr. Speaker, Congressman LEO RYAN was a courageous, forthright, and determined individual who expressed himself fearlessly on the floor of this House of Representatives on more than one occasion—and who evidenced this lack of fear in facing the ordeals and ultimately the unprovoked and vicious armed attack which took his life as well as the lives of San Francisco Examiner photographer Greg Robinson and NBC news reporter Don Harris and cameraman Bob Brown in Guyana on November 15, 1978.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot help but honor LEO RYAN for his courage and for his determined actions in behalf of justice and decency. He deserves to be honored by all of us in this body and by all Americans who respect human life and the right and privilege of making individual human decisions. In the absence of LEO RYAN's visit to

Guyana, the tragedy of ruined lives might have been far greater. It is my hope and prayer that through his life and his death the malpractice of would-be religionists or cult leaders shall be brought to the surface and after being identified may be handled appropriately.

Mr. Speaker, it is most fitting that we pause at this time to pay tribute to our beloved and highly respected friend and colleague, Congressman LEO RYAN, and that we extend to his children and to all members of his family our respect and deepest sympathy.

Mr. MOTT. Mr. Speaker, we have congregated today to pay homage to the Honorable LEO J. RYAN whose tragic death deeply grieved us all.

To his constituents he was an accessible and responsive public official dedicated to meeting the needs and fulfilling the wishes of his electorate.

To the American people, he was known as a friend of the oppressed, committed to their liberation from subjugation and servitude.

And to us, he was a model of excellence—a truly dedicated public servant who kept the public trust.

LEO RYAN was known as a maverick in the House. He acted in the manner his conscience dictated—doing what he felt he had to do. He maintained the highest standards of conduct and he worked with unsuppressable and enviable vitality.

His sojourn to Guyana exemplified his dedication to admirable causes. LEO repeatedly asked the State Department officials to investigate reports of mistreatment of American citizens who settled Jonestown. Yet, having found embassy officials evasive, their efforts to monitor the group's operations unsatisfactory, and their reports, at best cursory, he set out to investigate himself.

LEO knew what a grave risk he was taking, but he felt it was necessary to answer the questions posed by his constituents and other Californians as well as to address the legitimate concerns of the broader American public.

Regrettably, the affair ended as it did. LEO died in the midst of a promising and immensely gratifying career in public service. So that his death will not be in vain, we must carry on his work. We must investigate all aspects of this tragedy. So too, we must take a careful and complete look into all of the more controversial "religious" groups so that such an unfortunate and distressing event will never occur again.

Mr. EVANS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, the book of Ecclesiastes says, "Mourn but a little for the dead for they are at rest." It is truly those who LEO RYAN left behind who suffer most, for we had the privilege of knowing and working with this courageous man; we suffer his loss.

How can 1 day pay tribute to such a man as he? Eloquent praise and heartfelt words are hardly adequate. His loyalty to his family, to his colleagues, to his constituents, was outstanding. His memory will be with me for many years, because it was a symbol of love for country and mankind. He gave them his boundless energy, his sharp legislative mind, and his determination to make nothing unattainable.

But from the tragedy of my friend's death I must ask that we remember the warning of what can transpire when men yield to the powers of hatred, prejudice, fear, and all that tends to dehumanize, for "those who do not remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, last November, our country and the world was stunned and horrified by the events which took place in Jonestown, Guyana. Included among the nearly 1,000 lives which were lost was our colleague and good friend, Congressman LEO RYAN. Not only the constituents of California's 11th District, but this body and the Nation as a whole mourn the tragic, senseless loss of this extremely able Representative.

As we are all aware, LEO was unquestionably a man of action, one who feared neither the responsibility of decisionmaking nor the execution of those decisions. He was not content to remain cloistered within the walls of the Capitol, gathering information only through those political tentacles with which every Member is familiar. His entire career reflected his philosophy that knowledge is best attained through firsthand experience.

My wife, Lee, and I have known LEO for over 20 years and are well acquainted with the valuable qualities this man displayed in his years of public service. During that period, LEO and I served in Sacramento together where he exhibited the strong yet progressive character which would eventually send him to Washington.

The people of California's 11th District will feel a special loss, for LEO RYAN was a dedicated, diligent man, truly concerned for the well-being of his district, which he so capably represented. I know that all of us in Washington miss him as the 96th Congress gets underway. Lee and I would like to extend our deepest sympathies to LEO's

family, and most especially to his children, Shannon, Patricia, Chris, Kevin, and Erin. While LEO's life was cut tragically short, it is my hope that we, his colleagues, and the members of his family will take comfort in the memory of LEO's life as one of active concern and love for his country. There can be no higher honor.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, our late colleague, LEO RYAN, followed his instincts to the end. He was never one to rely solely on staff reports or other secondhand intelligence in assembling the information he needed to do his work—first as a city official in the San Francisco area, then in the California Legislature, and, for his final 6 years, here in the House.

He often found what he was seeking, as evidenced by his successes in furthering such causes as solar energy development, expansion of the Redwoods National Park and—belatedly—clemency for Patricia Hearst.

A born investigator, LEO had much empathy for the news media. As a former newsman, I can applaud these traits in LEO which helped to sharpen public awareness on a number of important matters—jet engine noise problems, nuclear waste disposal, and the unnecessary killing of Arctic seals.

Our late colleague knew how to get a headline, but in the process he served the public interest by shedding new light on complex issues.

He was very much his own man, going his own way, whether voting in the House or endorsing candidates for President. He was first in the California delegation to support Jimmy Carter's candidacy, at a time when Mr. Carter was still something of an outsider to most establishment politicians.

In the way he died, as throughout his public life, LEO was personally involved. He was a truth seeker, for he realized perhaps to a greater extent than most of us that enlightenment usually follows, once all the facts are in hand.

He was described rather poetically by one publication, the California Journal, as "a hunch player in search of hell." In the end, in truth, he uncovered a sort of hell on earth. But the meaning of LEO RYAN's life is, or should be, much more than that: In taking us where we otherwise would be reluctant to go, he opened our eyes not only to the despair but also to the promise around us.



Ms. OAKAR. Mr. Speaker, today, in this great House of liberty and law, we pause in our deliberations to remember and reflect on the life of a former colleague, LEO J. RYAN, whose tragic and untimely death last year in the jungle of Guyana touched us all with horror and anguish. LEO J. RYAN died as he lived, a man of basic courage and compassion, who preferred to act publicly on the often uncertain outcome of principle and conviction, rather than hide behind the private pretense of glib verbal commitment to abstract causes.

LEO J. RYAN embodied activism and despised indifference, practiced personal involvement, and warned of the silent danger of social and political apathy. LEO RYAN cared enough about people to do something whenever a problem or injustice distressed him and demanded his complete attention and dedication.

As a teacher in Watts, in Los Angeles, LEO RYAN observed firsthand the cultural and psychological damage done to ghetto children by centuries of deprivation and discrimination—and so worked toward making equality of opportunity a living reality for all Americans.

As a member of the city council of south San Francisco, LEO RYAN did much more than just sit in a comfortable chair at chamber meetings and routinely vote: He walked the streets of his city and met with the people whose views and needs and aspirations he wanted to know and understand.

As a member of the State legislature in California, LEO RYAN acquired a larger personal knowledge of the responsibility a legislator has in representing the interests of his constituents—and so he traveled between Sacramento and his district and listened to the people and learned that government, in a democracy, exists only with the consent of the governed and that elected public servants have a sacred trust to do for the people what the people cannot always do for themselves.

As a Member of this Congress, LEO RYAN served his constituents and country with a high sense of personal commitment and political responsibility, guided in his decisions and actions by the lessons he had learned about service to the people in San Francisco and Sacramento. His philosophy of involvement—inspired by his sensitivity to injustice, motivated by a sense of public morality, and vindicated by his vision of truth in government and trust among men—shone like a bright light in this Chamber and showed us the difference that cour-



age, conscience, and compassion can make in improving the lives of ordinary people. Let all of us, on both sides of the aisle, be faithful to, and remindful of, the beliefs that LEO RYAN lived and ultimately died for. As we mourn and remember LEO RYAN today, let us reaffirm our commitment to work always for the good of everyone, because the life of man is brief, our words but sounds that die on the wind, our deeds the only real legacy we leave to unborn generations. Only God, in His infinite yet mysterious wisdom, knows the time, and place, and manner, and reason for our death. Today, it is fitting to recall the words of John Donne, who wrote :

(A)ny man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore, never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of our friend and colleague LEO RYAN whose life was taken away so needlessly last November.

LEO's tragic death came because he could not ignore the pleadings that had come his way; as always, he went to look for himself so that he could do whatever possible to alleviate injustice and suffering. The good die young, the old saying goes, and it was certainly true in his case. He died simply because he was a good man whose desire to help others led him to that nest of unbelievable horrors in Guyana.

But the measure of any man is his desire to help others, and LEO scored high under any means of measurement you can name. Even before he entered Congress in 1973 LEO's style of helping people through firsthand investigation was well established. In 1970 he spent 8 days at Folsom Prison in California to learn about conditions facing inmates. Even further back, during 1966, he taught in a neighborhood high school following the Watts riots and visited Newfoundland to investigate the hunting of harp seal pups. For this latter effort he received a well earned "Man of the Year" award from the International Wildlife Foundation. Suffering and injustice, these were his only enemies.

Aside from these more dramatic efforts, and long before the tragedy of November, LEO RYAN's congressional efforts were also geared to helping resolve problems that plague everyday life for people. When I went to him for help in resolving the nagging problems of

jet noise in my own district, he stirred for action as though the planes were flying right over his own home.

He wrote letters, sent investigators out, held hearings with the Federal Aviation Administration and, in the end, came to the district himself to see and hear for himself the disruption of family life that jet noise causes. He held that hearing on a Saturday morning, and my constituents poured out their frustrations to LEO and his subcommittee members.

He kept his pledges and promises, personally following every trail that would lead him to the very heart of each problem he probed. His spirit and dedication will be sorely missed.

Mr. JONES of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, courage and dedication are like diamonds, things of sparkling beauty—and rarity.

Congressman LEO RYAN of California possessed these qualities. LEO was a man of energy and vision, a troubleshooter, who spent 22 of his 53 years in public service. He voluntarily lived behind bars to learn about prison conditions. He flew to Newfoundland to witness the killing of baby seals. And, finally, he went to an obscure region in South America by the name of Guyana to investigate reports of suspicious doings. Always, LEO was ready to do whatever was necessary to look the problem in the eye, to get involved, to help the suffering, to right the wrong.

It is with a bittersweet feeling of grief and pride that I pay my respects to the great memory of my dear colleague, LEO RYAN. LEO and I came to Congress in January of 1973. While I never had the opportunity to serve on a committee with him, I did work with him on various pieces of legislation and developed a deep respect for him as a Congressman and as a human being.

LEO approached his job with an enthusiasm and innovation that few could match. He tackled tough issues—such as the collapse of the Teton Dam in eastern Ohio and corruption in the Immigration and Naturalization Service—with an intellectual curiosity, an investigative eye and a tenacious zest for reform.

LEO will be sorely missed. But we must remember that the greatest tribute we can give to him, to his memory, to his family and friends, are not tears or eulogies, heartfelt though they be, but a vow to rededicate ourselves to the goals he had. What were his

goals? LEO had many, to be sure. But foremost among them was a very simple aim; to serve the people. Let us, his fellow Members of Congress, strive toward that goal in memory of LEO RYAN, who died as he lived, serving his country.

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Mr. Speaker, today we have the sad task of commemorating the passing of a colleague whose exemplary career in the House was tragically cut short by a gunman's bullet last November 18.

Unfortunately, I never had the pleasure or honor of serving with LEO RYAN. But in the short time I have been a part of this body, I have learned much about the many contributions he made to the House and to the people of the 11th District of California he served so well.

During his tenure Mr. RYAN developed a reputation for being a conscientious, hard-working Congressman who always did his homework. Whether it was on the floor, in committee, or in his district, LEO RYAN was always persistent in seeking solutions to the problems he faced. These are qualities every one of us should always aspire to.

Mr. RYAN devoted his lifetime to public service—as a school principal, a school superintendent, a submarine service veteran in World War II, a State assemblyman, and finally as a Congressman. His career was the embodiment of the ideal of being a public servant.

Ironically, it was his courage that led to his death. During his legislative career both here and in California, LEO RYAN frequently showed great courage as he sought to satisfy his intense curiosity and interest in problems he personally investigated. He once was confined to a California prison so he could experience the troubles it was having firsthand, something very few would attempt. In Guyana he again placed his duty above his personal safety in investigating the bizarre People's Temple which had victimized many of his constituents. The courage cost him his life.

At a time when most people do not commit themselves to anything, the death of a truly committed person like LEO RYAN is especially tragic.

The people of the 11th District of California were fortunate in having a dedicated public servant like LEO RYAN represent them. Whoever they now elect to succeed him has a hard act to follow.

Mr. HEFTEL. Mr. Speaker, as I join with you today in trying, and inevitably failing, to find words sufficient to express the grief I feel at the loss of LEO RYAN, this question forces itself to the center of my thoughts:

LEO's memory is redeemed, but is it not our obligation to redeem his mission as well?

LEO RYAN was murdered by people who had rejected the institutions with which our colleague had associated himself and on behalf of which he was acting in his final hours. His murderers preferred instead the dissolution of all impersonal institutions of government in favor of an overruling, unmediated, so-called personal relationship with their governing leader. Thus freed from institutional restraint, with no codified check upon his personal powers of manipulation, this hoisted demigod absorbed their individual personalities into himself, and so rendered himself helpless to prevent his own self-destruction, with all it portended. That should give pause to those who arrogantly dismiss government institutions as destroyers of individuality. To take even the most extreme example, a Solzhenitsyn could survive for years in the institutional horror of the Gulag, but he would not have survived for very long in institutionless Jonestown.

If we could enter into communion with LEO long enough to hear his final testament, I think he would tell us:

Restore the faith of all the American people in their institutions of government, work ceaselessly to make those institutions so strong and decent and secure and respected that anyone challenging them will be speaking to an empty room.

To the extent we accomplish that, LEO RYAN's tragic mission will have been redeemed.

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, the passage of time has not diminished the shock which this House and this Nation incurred over the murder of our beloved colleague and friend LEO J. RYAN. LEO RYAN was a martyr to this system—to this body—to this Nation—a man who pursued what he considered to be an unjust situation—only to die at the hands of those who he had revealed to be people of evil.

LEO RYAN in life was a dedicated public servant—with a sense of compassion for his fellow man that never seemed to waver. He approached life as an activist, not an observer. He did not wait for



someone else to correct a problem he found—he did it himself—it was this type of behavior that led LEO to his death.

Members in this body have taken risky trips. Just prior to LEO's ill-fated trip, I traveled to Belfast, Northern Ireland, and, while there, the single largest wave of bombing, in the past decade took place. Yet, should we be deterred from seeking the answers to problems? What will LEO RYAN's death do to this House—will it make us crawl into a shell and shy away from controversy? LEO RYAN would not want us to, I assure you.

I considered LEO a real friend. We worked together on various projects, and I was always impressed with his depth of knowledge of issues—his relentless drive to complete what he started.

We are here paying tribute to a man whose presence we all miss so much. We offer our prayers to his family—his friends—his staff. We implore that justice be rendered against those responsible for his murder. But above all, we pray that LEO RYAN is in peace away from the world of violence which took him away from us.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, let me say that I had the opportunity to talk with LEO just before the elections. He called me at my Roosevelt office and we discussed the 96th Congress and the elections. He was not concerned with the elections, but he was concerned with some of the committee assignments that were going to be forthcoming if certain things happened.

I asked him at that time if he was satisfied with the committees that he was serving on because he had worked up seniority and was entitled to consideration for many committee vacancies that would be coming up. He said that no, he was satisfied and that he was doing just what he would like to do. He served on the Committee on Government Operations and also served on the Committee on International Relations. He had made many trips into various parts of the United States and the world. He did not mention this trip to Guyana in that telephone conversation.

Mr. Speaker, it was with shock and profound sadness that we heard the reports of the death of our friend and colleague LEO RYAN in Guyana.

The events there have shocked the world and continue to puzzle all of us.



I admired LEO's determination and his foresight in investigating the problems there.

He quite obviously found a serious problem, and it was most unfortunate that events turned as they did.

In his 53 years, LEO RYAN distinguished himself in many fields of endeavor.

When World War II came upon us, LEO proudly accepted his call to duty and enlisted in the U.S. Navy.

Even at that early age, he was not satisfied to do just what was expected of him.

He joined the submarine forces and demonstrated his ability to take on any challenge and master it.

LEO's understanding of people and his ability to communicate with them led him naturally to a career in education.

He served not only as a teacher, but also as a school administrator.

This experience helped to kindle his interest in public service, and LEO sought and won election to the South San Francisco City Council, and later he served as that city's mayor.

He brought to the Nation's Capital a reputation for hard work and dedication which he deservedly earned in the Assembly of the State of California, where he served for 10 years.

It was my privilege to serve with LEO in the House of Representatives throughout his career in this Chamber.

His prior legislative experience served him well, and he was quickly respected for those same qualities here.

LEO RYAN's sense of caring and devotion to duty were well known to the people he represented.

He was tireless in his efforts in their behalf, and no problem was too large or too small for him to take an interest in.

He gave it all his full measure.

LEO not only listened to the problems of his constituents, he also acted on them.

To understand the problems in our prisons, he spent 8 days imprisoned in a correctional facility.

To more fully understand the consequences of killing baby seals, LEO RYAN went to Newfoundland.

So, when a constituent of his alerted him to possible problems in Jonestown, LEO RYAN went personally to find out what was going on.

LEO died doing what he liked best and what he did best—representing the people who sent him to Washington to the fullest.

He was a complete public servant.

We in the House of Representatives will certainly miss him.

He has set an example for forthrightness and determination which will be hard to match.

His beloved mother and family can take comfort, however, in knowing that LEO has made his mark on the country, and his legislative efforts will not soon be forgotten.

They can be proud of him, as indeed, all of us from California are.

My wife, Albra, and I want to extend our deepest sympathies to his mother, Autumn, and to his family.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank all of those who participated today in paying tribute with their remarks and eulogies in relation to a great Member of this House who is not with us. I can look out and see where he used to sit, where he used to stand, where he spoke from. He always had a very fine presentation and message.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend my distinguished colleague, Mr. Harold T. Johnson of California, for having this special order to memorialize Congressman RYAN. By doing so he has given many of us, who could not attend services in California, the opportunity to express our sympathy to the family and to commend this great man.

It is my honor to participate in a special order honoring the late Congressman LEO JOSEPH RYAN who represented the 11th District of California. Mr. RYAN was a distinguished man who held my respect and esteem. He will be missed, not only by his constituents but also by the Members of Congress.

Mr. RYAN was elected to the Congress in 1972 when I was entering my third term. As a Member of the Congress, he proved his capabilities in many ways, but particularly as chairman of the Environment, Energy, and Natural Resources Subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee. This committee has the responsibility to investigate how sufficiently and properly legislation passed by Congress is being carried out by the executive branch of Government and the various Government agencies. In light of the environmental energy problems that now confront our country, this was a huge

responsibility since the subcommittee has direct oversight for the Department of the Interior and the Department of Energy.

In addition to his career in the House of Representatives, Congressman RYAN served his country with honor in the submarine service of the U.S. Navy. A former teacher and school administrator, LEO RYAN has served as an elected public official since 1956 in the roles of city councilman, mayor of South San Francisco, and California State assemblyman. He also served his community through various appointments including his appointment to the South San Francisco Recreation Commission.

As an author, Congressman RYAN has been recognized for his book entitled, "Understanding California Government and Politics," which has been lauded as one of the best presentations of California politics in print, and for editing "The U.S.A.: From Where We Stand," a collection of articles concerned with the current state of American society.

Congressman LEO J. RYAN has been an asset to this country. He has contributed a great deal to our society. I personally will miss LEO as a friend and always remember the goodness he has shared with us.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. Speaker, while it was a great shock to me to learn of the death of my good friend, LEO RYAN, it was not a shock to learn that he was murdered while on a personal mission to investigate abuses of human rights. During the 4 short years that I was privileged to know and associate with LEO RYAN, I came to know him as a dedicated and absolutely fearless champion of individual human rights. He had a rare blend of sensitivity and hardheadedness which served him well in his fight for human rights. He was sensitive to the needs of the poor, the underprivileged, the powerless, and he was hardheaded enough to pursue, both legislatively and personally, the protection of basic human rights for these groups. When it came to the deprivation of the most fundamental of human rights, there was no compromise suitable for LEO RYAN. People were not to be deprived of their basic human rights because of who they were or what they were or whatever regime happened to be in power, and whether or not they were friendly or not friendly to the United States. To LEO, every human being had an inherent right to be treated decently and fairly by his or her government.

I will miss LEO RYAN because of the kind of person he was and the ideals for which he stood and fought. I will miss him because in fighting for human rights he was a skilled debater on the floor of the House and in committee. I will miss him because no institution to LEO RYAN was so big or so important or so powerful that it could escape public accountability for any actions taken by that institution which led to violations of human rights. He has left a definite void here in the House of Representatives, and it would be a great tribute to him and a great step forward for this institution if every Member tried to fill that void.

Mr. CARR. Mr. Speaker, it is with a tragic sense of loss that I join my colleagues in mourning the death of the Honorable LEO RYAN of California.

LEO RYAN set an example for us throughout his career. He was an activist Member of Congress who exemplified the belief that Government's purpose is to respond to the needs of the people.

LEO RYAN was also a man of courage. When he was blocked in his attempts to get the facts surrounding the situation in Guyana, he was brave enough to go to the source and try to get the information he needed. It is particularly tragic that this act of individual courage ended in his death.

I know we will all miss LEO RYAN, and I know our memory of his efforts and his leadership will remain strong.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Speaker, in the California Legislature we have at least made efforts to see that new members did not spend a lot of time early in their service speaking on the floor, but since it was my privilege to be one of LEO RYAN's close friends in the legislature, I very much appreciate the dean of this delegation yielding this time to me today to express a few of my feelings about my colleague, LEO RYAN.

LEO was many things to those of us who worked with him in California. He was first and foremost, a teacher and a friend. Beyond that, he was, for me, one of the toughest men I ever met in my life. LEO was also a very passionate man, a man who loved very deeply.

It was in his capacity as a teacher and a friend that many of us involved in education grew to watch him closely very early in our services because LEO was a fellow who, a teacher himself, insisted

that we ought to look at the educational establishment in a little different manner. Many of the Members will be interested to know that in his home district, right in the heart of his district, was the home of the powerful California Teachers Association, and yet LEO RYAN found it within himself to praise his peers and at the same time fight them intensely when he thought they were wrong.

I would guess that that association worked no harder against any other Member of the House than LEO RYAN, because he had the guts to stand up and talk about the fact that too often they were wrong in dealing with the children of California.

I never will forget that LEO first described to me what he considered to be the most reactionary of all establishments and that, as he described it, was the educational establishment in our society. He did not just talk about organized teachers; he talked about organized school boards, organized administrators, and third-level bureaucrats in the Department of Education, and his concern was that kids were missed because of their concern about their own individual bailiwicks.

LEO RYAN was a friend. I spent hours with him listening to him discuss his philosophy about mankind, about politics, about life. I am afraid that many of my colleagues missed that in LEO, because often we do not have the time to listen. He was a man who we found, if we were willing to listen, had an awful lot to say that would change one's own view of things, and particularly the way one ought to handle himself in public affairs.

LEO was a man who loved passionately. He loved his family. He talked about his children often in our after-hour sessions. He loved his colleagues and was often frustrated about the fact that many did not understand him and did not understand his indirect and unusual way of handling problems.

He would never walk away from a fight. He was always ready to express his views regardless of what the establishment might think.

Mr. Speaker, in closing, I would like to add to my remarks to the House a message received from LEO RYAN's family. It is as follows:

We would like to express our appreciation to the members of the House of Representatives for taking this time to remember our father, LEO RYAN, and to acknowledge the contributions he made to his constituents and to all the people of this country.



The fact that our father was in Guyana at all illustrates his unique political philosophy. He had just come through an exhausting campaign and had been reelected to his fourth term in Congress by a comfortable margin. By all rights he should have taken some time off to rest and relax. Instead, he traveled to an obscure little country in South America, deep in the heart of a tropical jungle, to get answers to questions asked by his constituents that he could not get elsewhere.

It was this need to get information first hand that characterized our father's career. Everyone has by now heard of the trips to Folsom prison, to Watts during the riots of the 1960's and to the ice floes in Newfoundland to investigate the seal hunts, but these are just the most publicized examples of his work. He was often accused of seeking publicity on an issue to further his own political ambitions, but anyone who knew him would know that this was not the case. The publicity he sought was to focus attention on an issue or to help solve a problem. He was a politician who cared more for the people he served than for the office he held. The tragedy of the situation is not just that we have lost our father, but that his district and indeed the whole country have lost an exceptional leader.

We hope that the Congress of the United States will see fit to continue on in his spirit, to complete the investigation he started. It is the unfortunate truth that there still exist in this country many organizations (or sects or cults) that regularly engage in the repression of human rights in the name of religion. We believe that there is still the definite possibility of another Jonestown happening in this country at any time. We hope that the Congress will carry the investigation through to its logical conclusion, to find a solution to this immediate problem so that our father's life will not have been lost in vain.

Mr. DUNCAN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to join with many of our colleagues in the Congress in a special tribute to our late friend and colleague, the Honorable LEO RYAN. While his tragic and senseless death will certainly dwell in our memories, we must not let that event overshadow his distinguished record of service to his constituents, his State, and the Nation.

LEO was a tireless worker, a man of strong convictions, and a fighter who championed causes which too often went unrepresented in the past. Mr. Speaker, we will miss his abilities in the House of Representatives for he was greatly admired by virtually every Member of this body.

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, I know all of us were shocked when we heard of the untimely death of our colleague, LEO RYAN. In fact, in the more than 2 months since that day, the shock of the Guyana tragedy still has not worn off.

While the facts of this story are still emerging, one thing we do know for certain is that LEO RYAN lost his life in the line of duty—the duty of a U.S. Representative to serve his constituents. LEO RYAN was in Guyana because his constituents went to him to express fear for the safety of their loved ones.

As was his style, LEO did not send an emissary to check out the facts for him. He felt compelled to learn the situation firsthand. His personal safety and comfort were clearly secondary concerns. In the words of LEO's administrative assistant, Joe Holsinger:

He knew there was a danger down there, but he went anyhow. He felt that his job was to inspect things personally.

The Guyana trip was not the first time that LEO RYAN wanted to get the facts firsthand. In 1966, following the riots in the Watts area of Los Angeles, he worked as a high school teacher in the neighborhood. That same year, he made a trip to Newfoundland to investigate the hunting of harp seal pups. His opposition to the hunting earned him the International Wildlife Foundation's Man of the Year Award. In 1970, he spent 8 days living as an inmate of Folsom Prison to learn about conditions there.

LEO RYAN was a man of action and a man of deeds, one who put a premium on personal experience to guide him during his service to the people. His passing is a great loss to us all.

Mr. WON PAT. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to have this opportunity to join my colleagues as we gather to eulogize our late friend and colleague, LEO J. RYAN.

Congressman RYAN, who met a most tragic death in Guyana last year, left behind a legacy of outstanding public service to the Nation. Even in his final moments, he cared only for those whom he sought to serve. His last efforts revolved around his heroic attempts to save a few persons from the horrors of Jonestown. The price he paid was his life, but in the process he left behind a tradition of dedicated service that few have ever matched.

To his family and staff, I offer my greatest sympathy. Although they, and LEO's many friends, will deeply mourn his loss, we can carry on in the knowledge he would wish us to carry on his own efforts to play an active role in ending human suffering wherever it may occur.

LEO RYAN was a public servant in the truest sense of the meaning. He gave totally of himself, regardless of the problems he may have faced. This is equally true of his brave and loyal staff.

I am confident that our colleagues will not permit the tragedy that befell LEO RYAN to go unpunished. Hopefully, we will also learn to deal with such events in a manner that can prevent future tragedies of this kind.

Thank you.

Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is a sad fact of life, to which I return time and again, that words can only serve as an empty promise in comparison to the realities of a human life and its accomplishments. Not only was U.S. Representative LEO J. RYAN a man of action who placed a high value on acquiring knowledge from firsthand experience, he was a tireless worker and protector of the interests of the so-called "common" man—if there is such a person. Representative RYAN's murder in Guyana last November, at the hands of a fanatical band of American expatriots, occurred as the result of his undertaking a congressional mission to investigate the reports he received from anguished family and friends of commune members who feared their loved ones had been enslaved and tortured by its leaders and were being prevented from returning to the United States.

During his 22 years in public office, LEO RYAN developed a reputation as an independent-minded reformer. It was my pleasure to serve with LEO on both the House Government Operations Committee and on the House International Relations Committee. As chairman of the Government Operations Subcommittee on Environment, Energy, and Natural Resources, he was particularly active in releasing reports which warned of the dangers of abuse of nuclear power and the lack of adequate safeguards for the storage of radioactive waste. Today, the Washington Post carried a front-page article revealing that Government officials ignored warnings from experts that a major nuclear safety study had serious flaws and that low-level radiation is related to an increased incidence of leukemia. It is a source of satisfaction to me to see those warnings of danger that LEO brought to our attention so persistently, finally gain widespread acceptance in the executive branch.

As representative of the 11th Congressional District in California, LEO investigated the collapse of the Teton Dam in eastern Idaho and corruption in the Immigration and Naturalization Service. He also campaigned for more openness in the Central Intelligence Agency and stood against allowing the Concorde jetliner to land in the United States.

Representative RYAN was a man who believed in dedicating his life to the goal of truly bringing Government to the people. He will live in the hearts of his family and friends and in the hearts of those of us in Congress who found him a man of enormous practical wisdom and tenderness.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, we salute today the memory of a man of uncommon courage. A man who dared, in the words of a great American poet and esteemed former resident of my district, to take the "road less traveled" to find the truth, no matter where that road led.

To our great sorrow, the last road our friend and colleague LEO RYAN took led to his tragic death and set off a chain of events that shocked the world with its horror. I do not want to dwell on that tragedy, only to say that his persistence and insistence upon taking personal action where his constituents were concerned was typical of the man.

LEO RYAN and I shared no committee assignments, but I would like to take my time during this special order to share one personal remembrance. I recall just months before his death another courageous stand LEO RYAN took. It, again, was on behalf of a constituent, a young man who was being unfairly discriminated against by the U.S. Army. This young man, an Army officer from LEO's district in California, had had the audacity to fall in love with an enlisted woman and married her, a course of natural events that had caused him to be relieved of his command and led to his and his wife's eventual resignation from the armed services after being charged with fraternization.

LEO and I joined our colleagues, the gentleman from California, Mr. McCloskey; the gentlewoman from Colorado, Mrs. Schroeder; and the gentleman from Texas, Mr. White, at a press conference here in Washington on October 13 to express our support for the young



couple and to express our dissatisfaction with the actions taken by the Department of Defense.

LEO stood up and made a strong statement in support of his constituent and then pledged to pursue the case further and to a conclusion during the recess period, the time in which he died.

I, therefore, join you today to honor the memory of a man who stood with me 3 months ago and bucked the Pentagon, and whose articulate voice and strong convictions are sorely missed in this House this afternoon.

I want to take this opportunity to express my deepest sympathy to the Ryan family.

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, the recent tragedy in Guyana shocked all Americans. It is difficult for many to conceive of the reasons which would drive so many to such wasteful self-abuse.

But, for those of us who knew LEO RYAN, Guyana is both a personal and an ironic tragedy. The obituaries and histories of the victims of the People's Temple reveal a group of people alienated and isolated from the mainstream of American life. The Temple catered to people who feared and mistrusted institutions, but felt powerless to change those institutions. LEO RYAN, in the mainstream of American political affairs, knew exactly where the levers of change existed.

The Guyana victims were, in fact, the kinds of people to whom LEO RYAN had dedicated a lifetime of public service. When stories circulated about the poor quality of education in public schools, or the mistreatment of inmates in a prison, LEO RYAN did more than condemn the injustice from his Washington office. He visited the school or the prison and talked to the people there. For many of the most disadvantaged and most powerless in society, LEO RYAN served as a spokesman, not in an abstract way, but as the actual communicator of their fears and hopes, and the catalyst for change.

LEO RYAN was performing this same role for the members of the People's Temple when he was killed. As usual he insisted on a personal visit to talk to people directly. As usual, he was not deterred by physical dangers. For LEO RYAN the issue was simple: People were being abused and threatened and they deserved protection.

The sad irony is that his death deprived this lonely outpost of Americans with precisely the kind of influential voice which they so desperately wanted.



LEO RYAN will be sorely missed. Committed and compassionate public servants are in short supply, and his death has reduced the number by one.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege, as several of us in this Congress did, of serving with LEO RYAN not only here in the Congress, but in the California State Legislature. As my colleague from California (Mr. Lewis) pointed out a few minutes ago, LEO RYAN's courage, bravery, and ability to buck great odds, and his willingness to do so, did not start when he arrived here in Washington. It was carried on with the same zeal and ardor in Sacramento.

Very often LEO was one of only a handful, or in some cases the only one, who would start a movement, start a program, introduce an idea into the legislature. He did not always win, but he had a pretty good batting average considering the fact that on many of these issues he represented a very, very small minority on that issue.

I will never forget the evening that I heard of LEO's death.

My wife and I were at a party and we had just heard a discussion on the car radio about LEO's mission to Jonestown. It was not over 15 or 20 minutes after we had turned the radio off and gone into this party that someone came in and said he had heard that a Congressman had been killed in a foreign country. He did not have to say who it was. I knew immediately it was LEO, because of his brave attitude in going down there on behalf of his constituents. It really struck home to me because just before he had left on that trip he had asked me to go with him, and due to a number of circumstances I was unable to do so.

The year 1978 was a very sad year for the California congressional delegation. We lost two very outstanding Members, Bill Ketchum and LEO RYAN. It occurred to me even as I heard of LEO's death, that in many ways LEO RYAN and Bill Ketchum, were very much alike. They were both bulls in a china shop, so to speak, and they both had great courage, and neither one lacked the will to speak up on the interests they were so very much involved in. They both had the interests of the common folks at heart.

I well remember also that at Bill Ketchum's funeral the officiating minister, who had known him for many years, recounted that he had

been in the hospital some time before that and he had received a get well card which said:

Don't just lie there. Bitch a little bit.

He said that described Bill Ketchum very well; and I think that described LEO RYAN also.

We should take a lesson from LEO's life and public service: We should be involved more heavily than we are at times and fight harder for what we believe in.

I know his family misses him, and the State of California and the entire Nation will miss him as well.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues today in paying tribute to the memory of an esteemed and respected Member of this Chamber, LEO RYAN. Sitting next to LEO on the International Relations Committee, I got to know him rather well. He was a determined and decent Congressman who took seriously his responsibilities to his country and constituents.

It is LEO's dedication that tragically cost him his life, but it is a tribute to his sense of commitment that he lost his life in the line of duty, while trying to help people who felt they had nowhere else to turn for assistance. LEO preferred to see for himself what was going on in the world, instead of relying for his information on State Department bureaucrats, especially when important interests, issues, and even lives were at stake. It is a great loss for us all that he was struck down in his prime as an effective and able legislator.

LEO's assassination leaves many questions unanswered and I believe that it is the responsibility of this Congress to fully investigate the circumstances of his death. This is the least we can do in the wake of this loss of a fine gentleman and respected colleague.

LEO leaves behind not only family and friends, but a legacy of compassion and concern which should serve as an example to all of us. His career embodied the very resurgence of this House as a dynamic and vital institution. He was the kind of Congressman that makes me proud to have served with him in the U.S. Congress.

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, the violent, tragic death of our colleague, LEO RYAN, shocked us all. I received the news while on a congressional trip in the Philippine Islands. It was simply hard to believe.

As one who worked with and against LEO on various proposals, I realized he was a man of convictions and he served this House and our Nation well.

I only wish that he were with us as this new Congress gets underway.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, it is with much sadness that I make the following remarks about a man who these hallowed halls will miss though had only begun to see and feel his tremendous potential.

LEO RYAN was a man of great courage and character. Many people talk about their dedication to duty, LEO showed that dedication. If something needed to be done, he would do it himself, even a hazardous mission such as the one in which he lost his life.

We as Members of Congress and the Nation as a whole have lost an individual of outstanding integrity and great moral dedication. Though we will no longer have him here in person he will always serve as an inspiration to all who enter here.

Mr. PASHAYAN. Mr. Speaker, the assassination of LEO RYAN at the infamous Jonestown Commune in Guyana deeply shook this Nation just several months ago. Like an inquisitive cub reporter, LEO RYAN felt obligated to investigate firsthand the allegations that the followers of the Reverend Jim Jones were being denied their basic human rights: Many were his constituents; almost all were despondent Americans.

The concern that LEO RYAN showed for the well-being of these people was typical of his great conscientiousness as the elected representative of the people. No challenge was too great; no detail too small.

As a fellow Californian and a newly elected Member of Congress, I truly regret that I was not able to serve beside LEO RYAN. This House has truly lost a dedicated public servant.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, I am still in a state of shock over the bizzare and tragic news which has come from the jungles of Guyana. The senseless and brutal deaths of the People's Temple members cannot be understood—they defy reason.

But the loss of my friend and colleague LEO RYAN makes the tragedy immediate to me and all the Congress.

LEO's accomplishments on behalf of the weak and oppressed all over the globe will live on as a warm and glowing testimonial to

his energy and vision. Our mere words can do little to add or detract from his legacy. LEO RYAN died as he lived—in service to the country he loved.

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to submit, for the Record, the attached newspaper articles and editorials regarding our late colleague Congressman LEO RYAN. These articles were selected by Congressman RYAN's children. I agree with the Ryan family that these words speak to the deep concern and persistent questioning that characterized our colleague throughout his life.

LEO J. RYAN, 1925–1978

(By Rex Weyler)

A Buddhist historian once told me to never write about anything I didn't know. I don't know who killed LEO RYAN, or why, or what the circumstances were. Rather foggy news reports from Guyana say he was gunned down by assassins in a panel truck who belonged to a religious sect living in the remote South American jungle. I don't know; I wasn't there. It doesn't sound to me like a very religious thing to do. But you can read about that in your weekly news magazine. I'm sure there will be lots of Mansonesque trailers to go with it.

I first met LEO RYAN in July 1977 at the Old Waldorf in San Francisco where a local rock band was doing a benefit to help get a Greenpeace boat out into the Pacific. Congressman RYAN showed up with a mutual friend, Robert Taunt who introduced us. When he took the stage between sets, I listened with a skepticism nurtured by experiences with politicians and popular causes.

RYAN got right to the point: "I know of no braver, more committed, or more intelligent action than for people to put their lives on the line to help stem the tide of environmental degradation of our planet. Our seas, our land, without a reversal of the present momentum will die." The urgency of the environmental, global, holistic position could not have been more succinctly stated. "The man's a believer," I thought to myself.

RYAN was more than a believer; he was a diligent and thorough environmentalist. He played a major role in saving thousands of acres of giant redwood trees in California, and in passing the marine mammal protection act in the U.S. Congress. As chairman of the House subcommittee on the environment he monitored countless ecological issues from cruelly trapped furbearing animals to giant nuclear reactors.

I met LEO RYAN a second time in the spring of 1978 during an expedition to Newfoundland to protest the annual slaughter of harp seal pups. RYAN, a vocal opponent of the hunt, had come along for a first-hand look. At an Ottawa press conference, when it was suggested to him that he go back to



America and mind his own business, he said: "Environmental questions don't follow the same boundaries as political states."

After perservering an inhospitable gauntlet of federal fisheries officers from Romeo LeBlanc on down, RYAN gained a permit to go out to the ice. He was accompanied by Dr. Patrick Moore, Congressman James Jeffords, Pamela Sue Martin and a contingent of newsmen. LEO RYAN, 53, was a tall, stately, strong man, but on the evening of March 12, 1978, after returning from a day of bearing witness to the seal slaughter, he walked back into Decker's Boarding House in St. Anthony looking like a ghost.

An impromptu press conference had converged around the supper table, cameras whirring and lights glaring. RYAN, a man who had weathered hundreds of such scenes, glared at the eye of the global media network in a state of self-proclaimed shock: "After what I have just seen," he said, "I don't want to hear the reasons. I don't want to argue the pros and cons with you any more. I just want to say, enough! Enough! just quit."

He was a reasoned man who was not ruled by reason, a sensitive man who was not ruled by motion, but most important of all, he was a powerful man who was not ruled by power.

I last saw Congressman RYAN on October 7th of this year when he spoke at the Critical Mass conference in Washington, D.C. He had recently completed an exhaustive study of nuclear power costs, for the U.S. congress, in which he specifically indicated the nuclear industry for misleading the public about the actual costs involved in producing nuclear energy. His study stands as a definitive work, citing everything from the mining and milling of uranium, to environmental and health dangers, the decommissioning of power plants and the burial of nuclear wastes.

He told a story of how, as a child, his parents made him take out the garbage, a job which he disliked, and always put off as long as he could. "But I realized," he said, "a long time ago, that you can't let your house fill up with garbage, and that is exactly what we are doing in America: nuclear garbage, consumer garbage, toxic wastes of all kinds. And, my friends, we are all one family, and we can't just walk out and lock up the house when all the rooms are full of our trash."

The accomplishments of his life are far more important than the macabre details of his murder. The planet lost a Rainbow Warrior, and those left are going to have to take on a bit more of the load.



#### QUESTIONS ABOUT GUYANA

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.)

Could the tragic murders and suicides in Guyana have been averted?

This question is still being asked by millions of Americans, three weeks after the horrible deaths occurred. We wish there were easy answers, as with ordinary crimes, so we could say an assassin has been arrested, a murderer



nabbed, or an arsonist apprehended, and the case is about to be concluded. But nothing about the gory Guyana story can be that neatly summarized.

When nearly 1,000 Americans kill themselves, or are killed, under bizarre circumstances in a foreign country, their fellow Americans have a right to ask what went awry. Was some person or some group of people responsible, or is it impossible to assess responsibility for a death scene of such monstrous proportions?

In the Guyana case, explanations have been slow in coming. One's first tendency is to blame anyone connected with American security, to shout at the State Department, to pin the button of guilt on the first federal lapel we can find. Scapegoats are a great solace. But grabbing the first scapegoat in sight is just as cowardly and unproductive as not asking any questions at all.

So we must continue to ask questions, of the president, of the State Department, of all who are willing and patriotic enough to respond. We must determine whether the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency and the Internal Revenue Service have been able to do their job of protecting American citizens from injustice.

The questions I would ask are not prompted by any routine act of criminality. They are prompted, rather, by the most horrible and traumatic event in recent American history. How else can you describe the shock of the deaths of 917 men, women and children in a land few people were previously acquainted with? How else can you describe the first murder of a United States congressman while performing his duty?

Smothered by the noise of other comments about the brutal death of California Representative LEO RYAN were the pleas of his mother. She resented, and rightfully so, President Jimmy Carter's admonition that "we should not overreact" to the Guyana deaths, but should remember that the "Constitution protects religion."

The late Mr. RYAN's sorrowing mother, Autumn Mead Ryan, was not being unkind to the president, but merely reminding him that he, too, might be overreacting, by forgetting the protection due citizens of the United States.

The 80-year-old woman sought to address her countrymen, as well as her government, in saying:

"When close to a thousand people die by murder and forced suicide in a pseudo-religious entrapment, can this cult be regarded as 'constitutionally protected'?"

The question Mrs. Ryan raised was one of basic freedoms. Of course we have freedom of religion, but does that freedom extend to religious cultists who murder human beings, or order them to kill themselves?

Mrs. Ryan wrote a letter to the nation's newspapers last week, in which she asked, pointedly: "When did we lose our capacity for rational thought?" She was blunt in her criticism of church leaders, who in her opinion reacted rather callously to news about the People's Temple and its leader, Jim Jones, and the killing of her son. She wondered why she had seen "no public expression of mourning, no note of alarm about the perversion of Christ's teaching."

What especially concerned Mrs. Ryan was that her dead son had received no cooperation from the U.S. State Department in response to requests for information about the reception he might receive in Guyana. Rep. RYAN asked for counsel and guidance from the State Department, his mother said, but the replies were marked by "ineptness, indifference, bureaucratic inertia and outright incompetence."

Mrs. Ryan also spoke her mind about religious cults. She wrote: "We have not yet begun to attack this newest form of totalitarianism, perhaps because we have saddled ourselves with an obsession about the separation of church and state which leaves us impotent before the clear spectacle of crime and intimidation masquerading as religion."

Mrs. Ryan's questioning was seconded by the late congressman's legislative counsel. She is Jacqueline Speier, a 28-year-old lawyer who was seriously wounded in the Guyana shooting.

"The State Department," she said, "at no time made it even remotely clear to the congressman or myself that there would be danger encountered of the nature that we found." She added that "they just hadn't done enough investigating" into the People's Temple community.

In other words, if the State Department isn't responsible for protecting the lives of Americans abroad, who is? I submit that the questions raised by Mrs. Ryan and Miss Speier should be taken seriously, and answered respectfully. The State Department should be made to answer for its "incompetence."

Other questions concern the role of the FBI, which had its wings clipped recently when it was discovered some of its agents had overreached their authority. Congress imposed severe limitations on the agency's capacity to infiltrate suspicious organizations and inform appropriate authorities before it is too late.

It may profit us little to talk about "what might have been," but I can't help but think that the Guyana story wouldn't have been as bloody if the FBI had been allowed to protect Americans in the great FBI tradition.

What role should the CIA have been playing in this situation? Politicians and pundits alike have given this agency the image of a villain, when actually it was created and has performed nobly as a bulwark of defense against dangerous people and policies. To what extent it could have defended the Americans in the Guyana tragedy, we may never know.

The CIA, like the FBI, has had its effectiveness reduced by overreactions to a few cases of alleged wrongdoing. This is partly due to the mentality of those who call policemen "pigs" and throw bottles, rather than treating them as an essential force in the protection of human rights.

The Internal Revenue Service owes America an explanation in the Guyana case. For instance, did the IRS, which grants tax exemptions to religious organizations, determine that the money collected by Jim Jones' People's Temple was used for the purposes intended? Did the IRS know much about the leadership and conduct of the cult it was treating so charitably with tax exemptions?

I am not one who believes the whole country is sick just because something sickening has happened. I do believe, however, that if we can find out the truth, the whole truth, concerning lapses in security measures to protect Americans abroad, we can better defend ourselves against another tragedy.

That is all Rep. RYAN's mother is asking. She noted in an exclusive interview with Tom Eastham of The Hearst Newspapers that neither the executive, legislative nor judicial branches of our government had given satisfactory or sympathetic answers to questions about Guyana.

Mrs. Ryan stressed that, in view of the fact her son was the first congressman murdered in line of professional duty, the House of Representatives "can do no less than" launch a full-scale investigation. "The investigation," this mother respectfully requests, "should fully inform the public of its findings, shirking no avenue of inquiry, however uncomfortable."

Pursuit of this mission would be the finest tribute America could pay to the late Rep. RYAN, to his brave and bereaved mother, and to the spirit of American justice.



#### TEXT OF STATEMENT BY SLAIN CONG. LEO J. RYAN'S MOTHER

The Progress publishes below the complete text of the Dec. 4 statement by Autumn Mead Ryan, mother of slain San Mateo Congressman LEO J. RYAN, in which she discussed the circumstances preceding and following the Congressman's Nov. 18 murder.

The Progress reported sections and excerpts from Mrs. Ryan's lengthy public statement Wednesday, Dec. 5.

Mrs. Ryan's statement both relates the emotional attitude of the surviving Ryan family members and presents questions and issues future Congressional investigations of the deaths of RYAN and four others in his party and of the mass suicide-murder of 900 People's Temple members will address.

The text follows:

The President's remarks as reported on the TV news last week compel reply. He said we should not "overreact" to the Guyana tragedy but should remember that the "Constitution protects religion." Surely, he did not mean to make such a callous and cruel observation which ignores the primary purposes of our government, the protection of people and their personal liberty in an ordered society.

To date, I have seen no public expression of mourning from our churches, no note of alarm about the perversion of Christ's teaching. Has the President added the capstone to our loss of Christian concern?

Or does the statement reflect his uneasiness about any investigation of how the disaster came about with its inevitable questions concerning the role of the State Department in this tragedy? When close to a thousand people die by murder and forced suicide in a pseudo-religious entrapment, can this cult be regarded as "constitutionally protected"? When did we lose our capacity for rational thought?

This indifference reflects a dismaying cynicism. So too did a radio broadcast which suggested that the Guyana murders "likely could be a set-up of our government," designed to destroy a successful on-going commune which had found a happy solution in Guyana to the evils of capitalism in the United States. And so, too, did a TV pundit who intimated that my son's trip was publicity-motivated.

It was not. LEO RYAN was a man who marched to his own tune. His entire public career has demonstrably been one of trying to help and if possible to improve in some small way the world about him.

Early on, he learned that only by marshalling public interest and concern can things really get done and he sought ways to reach the public through the media whenever possible. He was a pragmatic and intelligent man. He did no breast-beating, no public strutting to promote himself. Those who know anything about his work know there are uncounted activities which never reached the press. I am amazed by the enormous number of messages his family has received from home and abroad, from the ordinary and extraordinary, the meek, the humble, the literate, the semi-literate, telling us of his help, of activities which produced the results he sought and were never mentioned again, offering solace, wanting to ease the pain. We who shared LEO's life have been deeply moved by their understanding and appreciation of his efforts and their sympathy for his tragically unnecessary death.

I will not here recite again the growing evidences of ineptness, indifference, bureaucratic inertia and outright incompetence which characterized the responses of federal departments and agencies to LEO's requests for investigation of the appeals for help which came to him, of documented charges, eyewitness accounts, serious allegations which clearly merited immediate action. Evidence mounted about enslavement, brutality, vicious forms of brainwashing including endless labor and slow starvation. Large sums of money were reported to be moving into and out of the commune, reports that, had they involved the ordinary citizen, would have had the IRS moving with alacrity to hunt down its share.

Why, then, was there no serious, effective effort to even begin to look into these significant and unanswered questions, either by our government or by Guyanese authorities?

Why did Congressman LEO RYAN himself have to go at the end of a grueling Congressional session and immediately after a successful election campaign, accompanied only by local aides, concerned relatives and intrepid journalists, to a small and obscure country to try to get to the truth of a situation of surpassing evil that our own embassy had failed to identify? That he knew it was going to be dangerous was evident by the sober, thoughtful manner in which he bade me goodbye at his home when he left for the plane and for what rapidly became a rescue mission. His sense of the extreme danger of the situation came through clearly in the strategically soothing speech made to the colony the night before his death and filmed by the TV cameras as he tried to keep open the avenue of escape for his party and those cultists seeking to flee their nightmare under his protection.



We now know that my son's information about the number of Americans incarcerated in Jonestown and the magnitude of the cult's criminality was correct and that the denials of Mark Lane and Charles Garry were both worthless and venal. Had the appropriate government officers responded responsibly (rather than by asinine interrogations "in the middle of a field," for example) to LEO's legitimate request for help in verifying charges of serious crimes against our citizens, he would be alive today, as would so many others.

What can we salvage from the dreadful wreckage? At the very least, we should as a nation now show concern in an effective way about these proliferating, money-making cults, skillfully using the now-familiar "brainwashing" techniques to ensnare the most vulnerable in our society, from the impressionable, young to the lonely aged, using religion as a sanctimonious and legally unassailable cover to systematically deprive them of their rights, their assets and their freedom.

We have not yet begun to attack seriously these newest form of totalitarianism, perhaps because we have saddled ourselves with an obsession about "the separation of church and state" which leaves us impotent before the clear spectacle of crime and intimidation masquerading as "religion." Neither the legislative nor the executive nor the judicial branches of government have so far been able to find a way back to rational solutions although heaven is witness to our facile ability to use all three branches of government more simplistically.

I am told that LEO RYAN was the first member of Congress to be assassinated in the performance of his duties. Surely the House of Representatives can do no less than create a joint bipartisan committee to fully investigate not only the murders and mass suicides, the wholesale destruction of human life, but also the failures of the State and Justice Departments to protect, aid and rescue our citizens, as they have at other times all over the world.

The investigation should fully inform the public of its findings, shirking no avenue of inquiry, however uncomfortable. Much depends on whether it is vigorously and honestly pursued or concludes as an indifferent whitewash, a suppression of embarrassing evidence.

The enormity of the evil event also deserves the full attention of the press in examining in depth the growth of this particular cult, how it accumulated and used money and its accompanying power; how money was moved about with seeming ease and with nary a tax glove laid on it, despite our vaunted tight tax controls over our citizens; how the cult was able to function in a small underdeveloped country by using indentured American labor under inhuman conditions; how the cult was able to separate children from parents, to operate a tight blackmail scheme to hold its prisoner-laborers while nationally known American attorneys smoothly represented its nefarious interests; how a man, on whom some American politicians danced attendance in return for his political favors, was able to imprison a thousand Americans and ultimately shepherd most of them to their deaths in a distant jungle.



The investigation can, if it is in earnest, expose the roots of a profoundly serious social aberration in our civilization. Indeed, we might even learn something meaningful about ourselves.

My son, in his will, expressed a wistful envy of those who will live "to see whether or not we win the race in saving the human race from its own greed" and urged that we "love one another."

I cannot speak a better epitaph.

AUTUMN MEAD RYAN.



[From the San Francisco Progress, Dec. 6, 1978]

### A CONGRESSMAN'S BLOOD ON BARE HANDS

(By Les Kinsolving)

WASHINGTON.—California Congressman LEO RYAN, NBC newsmen Bob Brown and Don Harris and San Francisco Examiner photographer Greg Robinson were unarmed and on a mission of mercy when they were murdered in a massacre conducted by members of the People's Temple in Guyana, near the Venezuelan border.

The People's Temple and its pastor, the Rev. James Jones, belong to the 1.3 million-member Disciples of Christ (Christian) Church, headquartered in Indianapolis and a member of the National Council of Churches.

For at least six years this denomination has been aware and frequently informed:

That Jones has been regarded by some of his 20,000-member flock as a reincarnation of Jesus Christ—a belief which he has cultivated through faith healing, and claims that "more than 40 people have been literally brought back from the dead" (attested to in writing by Timothy Stoen, Assistant District Attorney of Mendocino and San Francisco counties).

That Jones is guarded by men carrying .357 Magnums, who police his six- and seven-hour worship services, which have featured beating of children as well as compulsory public confessions, often of nonexistent sins.

That Jones controls his congregation and almost all of the income of individual parishioners with an iron hand—while keeping some of the younger members in dawn-to-midnight servitude.

That the Disciples of Christ National Headquarters did nothing about the Rev. Mr. Jones—except to bank the substantial amounts of money he had sent to them.

If the Disciples of Christ had investigated, exposed and unfrocked Jones, Congressman LEO RYAN and three newsmen might be alive today.

Six years ago, the San Francisco Examiner, in cooperation with the Indianapolis Star, published on page 1, a series of exposes of Jones, whose faith healing methods had been the subject of investigation by authorities in Indianapolis (from whence he went west to Ukiah, Calif., along with part of his Indiana congregation, more than a decade ago).

Jones' reaction to the Examiner was to order 150 Temple members to picket the newspaper for nine hours daily—while three lawyers went upstairs to threaten publisher Charles Gould and President Randolph Hearst with a lawsuit. The Examiner promptly stopped examining. It killed the remaining stories in the series and substituted a story about Jones which was adulatory.

If the Examiner had done its duty, its photographer and Greg Robinson might be alive today.

Even this Examiner capitulation could not match the loathsome conduct of San Francisco's other daily, the Chronicle, and its city editors. The Chronicle not only accepted money from the People's Temple (as an "award" for the devotion to the "freedom of the press") but it opted for laudatory stories about Jones—aided and abetted by its TV station, KRON. Chronicle reporter Marshall Kilduff wrote an extensive expose of Jones—but not for the Chronicle, rather for New West magazine.

The Chronicle management did send Jones' "award" to Sigma Delta Chi, the journalism fraternity which fancies itself as an arbiter of the fourth estate ethics. When asked how in good conscience they could accept money from the People's Temple, Ralph Otwell, editor of the Chicago Sun Times, replied, "That Sigma Delta Chi is not the CIA." So the Disciples of Christ and Sigma Delta Chi banked the money from the People's Temple.

If the Disciples and the San Francisco dailies and Sigma Delta Chi have blood on their hands for not opposing—exposing—this ecclesiastical mania, so by God does the Democratic Party. The Rev. Mr. Jones, who could produce a crowd of 500–1,000 with one hour's notice, along with two or three thousand hand-written letters per night, was found to be an invaluable political asset.

Governor Jerry Brown has dutifully been a guest at the People's Temple. So has Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley and former Lieut. Gov. Mervyn Dymally—who also visited the 27,000-acre People's Temple commune in Guyana. Dymally returned singing the praises of this installation.

When Walter Mondale campaigned in 1976 he invited Jones aboard his chartered jet. And Jones also shared a speaker's platform with Mrs. Jimmy Carter. (Jones got more applause since 500 of the crowd of 750 were his parishioners.)

It could be concluded that Mondale and Rosalynn didn't know any better. But surely local politicals should have. And so should the dailies' city editors and so should the Disciples of Christ.

May the souls of LEO RYAN, Bob Brown, Don Harris and Greg Robinson find infinitely more rest than the consciences of those who closed their eyes to the true nature of the Rev. Mr. Jones and used his ability to draw people for political purposes.

Editor's Note: Les Kinsolving wrote the original stories about the unusual nature of People's Temple and Rev. James Jones. More than six years ago Kinsolving started investigating People's Temple because of rumors of unusual conduct in worship services and claims that Jones raised the dead.

[From the San Francisco Examiner, Dec. 6, 1978]

### JONESTOWN AND CONGRESS DUTY

How do we work to prevent another Jonestown? This is the question to which the country should address itself, now that the shock of the event itself has begun to subside, just a bit, into the great cushion of history.

Indeed, is there anything the nation can do to help prevent a recurrence of this kind of horror, or some bizarre new manifestation of violence which might arise from some other aberrant cult that has spiraled away into malevolent delusion? Some of our leaders, including the president, seem to be saying no, there isn't anything we can do legally, because of the constitutional provision against government interference with religion.

This is, we think, escapism malarkey—a dodging of unpleasant responsibility.

The government of this country has a mandate in the First Amendment to keep its hands off the exercise of religion, and to protect the right of religious belief. But it also has a firm responsibility to protect other rights—most notably, the right of the individual to life itself. There is a right not to be killed, and not to be kept in captivity, or otherwise to be preyed upon illegally, and harmed grievously thereby.

When a "religion" has gone over the brink of fanaticism to endanger life, or into the depths of avarice, or into the massive exploitation of mind control, to work great harm or even death upon people, then the First Amendment protection recedes. Its blanket cannot be pulled over demonstrable crimes to safeguard them in the name of religion.

Certainly, the Constitution is a stringent shield over the practice of religion. But 60 years ago Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, an eloquent champion of First Amendment rights, had this to say in a famous decision on the freedom of speech aspect of the amendment: "The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic." It follows then, quite plainly, that no one is protected by the amendment in killing citizens in a theater or any place else, or robbing them, or beating them, or holding them captive, under the shield of the First Amendment.

It's natural that officials and politicians shy away from any investigation of a religious activity that they fear a collision with both law and the loud activists who never would countenance such a thing, no matter what the provocation. Not even the provocation of more than 900 bodies sprawled on the ground at Jonestown is enough to make some of them re-examine their inflexibility. But it's enough to make one gentle lady, Mrs. Autumn Ryan, explore the question with a clear and searching eye.

Her son, Rep. LEO RYAN, was one of those bodies, and she says that if the State and Justice Departments had done what they should have, beforehand—had investigated properly all the warnings and cries for investigation and help for that tragic congregation of the Peoples Temple in Jonestown—then her son would not have died trying to do it himself, without protection.

She spoke of President Carter's statement last week that there should not be "an overreaction" to the tragedy, that the "Constitution protects reli-

gion." And she commented, incisively: "When close to 1,000 people die by murder and forced suicide in a pseudo-religious entrapment, can this cult be regarded as 'constitutionally protected'?"

Her son told her, she said, that "if anyone else had been willing to pick up the ball and go down there, he would not have wanted to go. He was not anxious to go." So it's time now for the whole country to pick up the ball and try to fashion some defense against this sort of mad occurrence, for assuredly there are still cults in business from which disturbing indications emanate, evoking no official response.

Whether any response to possible danger will come from President Carter is unclear, but all the signs are discouraging. Certainly he has not overreacted—essentially he hasn't reacted *at all*. He said the Guyana slaughter was not typical of America and it ought not to provoke the government "into trying to control people's religious beliefs \* \* \*."

No, it isn't typical, but cults that entrap people by one means or another certainly are a strain in America life of a size worthy to be acknowledged by the President.

And no one is talking about "trying to control people's religious beliefs"—far from it. The Constitution protects anyone's right to believe anything, no matter how wild it may be. That is a settled matter. But there is a sharp demarcation between beliefs and actions. The latter are not protected, if they are criminal. And we've seen one secretive, rapacious cult, whose leaders prated about harassment for their beliefs, wipe out lives as with a scythe. If only the government had bothered to learn more—had responded to some of the cries for help more effectively.

The first step toward some kind of remedy has to be a vigorous and thorough congressional investigation, not limited by time or lack of resources, into Jonestown and all that went before it, and into other cults from which disturbing reports have issued.

Painful though it may be, and loud though the howls may be from people unable to separate the issues of crime and religious freedom, we have to see these questions illuminated. And Congress has to do it because the executive branch shows no readiness to do so.

And then, if the investigations reveal a need for it, we may have to have some new law to deal with this problem, to protect citizens from actions, not beliefs. Otherwise, even more shock and sadness may lie before us.



[From the San Francisco Examiner, Jan. 4, 1979]

### THE LOST CHILDREN OF GUYANA

(By Kenneth Wooden)

"The only banner that flies over the graves of the dead is silence. \* \* \*"—Sean O'Casey.

It is understandable that most Americans have found it hard to express anything but bewilderment and disbelief for the macabre "suicides" in Guy-



ana. What is difficult to comprehend, however, is the silence and indifference to the news that over 100 of the children who were forced to drink the cyanide mixture were foster-care children—public wards of the state. More than 100 of our youth murdered, yet our nation is silent.

On April 14, 1978, by Executive Order 12053, President Carter established the U.S. Commission on the International Year of the Child for 1979:

“We shall foster within the United States a better understanding of the special needs of children in particular \* \* \* special attention to the health, education, social environment, physical and emotional development and legal rights and needs of children that are unique to them as children.”

And yet, to date, there has been no official White House reaction to this tragedy, which occurred virtually on the eve of the International Year of the Child—1979. Only silence.

Newspapers and magazines, saturated with stories and pictures on the Peoples Temple, have either lost interest or are ignorant of the mass murder of those foster kids. There exists much interest in where the temple's money came from and where it went.

Why is there no interest in where the children came from and to whom they went? Editorial writers who have consistently raged against youthful violence have said nothing about foster-care youths who perished in the jungle. Only silence.

Where are our religious leaders, whose preaching fills evangelists' tents, cathedrals and airwaves with the horrors of sin? We hear no words of comfort or supplication for those foster-care children who perished in the Guyana massacre. Only silence.

Nor have the national children's organizations spoken out, either to condemn or comment or investigate. Only silence.

National figures who rush to be quoted on everything from gay rights to commercial endorsements of toys, liquor, and beauty creams have joined the chorus of silence.

California politicians, including Gov. Brown were guiled into unqualified support of the Peoples Temple, hence their silence. But is Brown's silence conscionable when, in fact, he was the legal parent of the children in question—the legal “*parens patriae*” father of his dead wards?

Should there not be a review of the California Mental Health Department, which granted a license to Happy Acres, a facility for retarded boys privately owned and run by the Peoples Temple near Ukiah—as well as other care homes run by temple members? The Happy Acres lease arrangement called for remittance of all profits from the operation of the institution to the Peoples Temple. Would it not also be in order to look into the work files of the Rev. Jones' wife, Marceline, who worked in the Santa Rosa Health Department's facility licensing section, which licensed community care facilities such as Happy Acres, and who was listed in the 1977 State of California telephone directory under JONES, Marceline M., health, 542-6313.

Most pathetic of all is the silence placement workers for California state, county and city agencies who are now confiding to close friends, “We knew it was bad, but Jim Jones had powerful political friends.”



It was federal money, under Child Protective Services, that gave Jones the AFDC, BHI, SSI funds for his care homes (six children to a home and \$1,000 per month average). These little streams of U.S. Health, Education, and Welfare dollars fed into a river of millions of dollars hidden in personal reservoirs of foreign bank accounts, safes and suitcases.

When legislation that would have provided due process and mandatory six-month review of all foster-care placements (the 1978 Foster Care Reform Act, H.R. 7200) was killed in the U.S. Senate, national opinion makers said nothing about millions of children who would continue to pass in and out of foster care like driftwood washed up on the shores of indifference.

Thousands of foster parents who wanted reform were no match for the Washington-based wealthy self-interest groups such as the Child Welfare League that effectively lobbied against the bill. Except for those economy-minded souls who complained that public money would be used to bury the Guyana dead, Congress and governors from across the country have been silent.

It is strange for a society to be chilled by the mass death storm that was Guyana. But stranger still is that the death of all the children, especially the foster-care children, hasn't been acknowledged with any form of a religious service or even a public sadness. Do we bury these children, like the senate subcommittee on juvenile delinquency, in silent shame?

Why the national silence? The question begs an answer. Is it a silence based on our ignorance of foster-care children and its programs? Is it a silence based on dislike for children or basic lack of sensitivity to their needs? Or worse, is it a silence because those children are a faceless, powerless, minority—cast aside, forgotten in death as in life?

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to my colleague, the late LEO RYAN.

LEO had an independent spirit which always led him to seek information firsthand. Among the investigations he pursued were California prison conditions, an on-scene look at South Vietnam, and a Newfoundland venture to witness the slaughter of baby seals. It was this drive for firsthand information that led to his tragic fate in Guyana.

The lesson to be learned from LEO's outstanding congressional work comes from a statement he made on the eve before his trip to Guyana: "You have to put fear aside and do what you think is right."

I shall greatly miss LEO and am fortunate that I had the experience of working with him in Congress.

Mr. PHILLIP BURTON. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to the late Representative LEO RYAN of California's 11th District.

The senselessness of his tragic and sudden death in Guyana still stuns us all.

I first met LEO in 1956 when he sought election to the South San Francisco City Council at a time when I served as the attorney for the employees of that city.

His lovely mother, Autumn, was then a medical patient of my father and, no doubt, her charm favorably affected the early friendship that developed between LEO and myself.

I have known LEO since 1956, and we got to know each other better during the early 1960's when we served as members of the assembly in the California State Legislature. In the assembly, LEO was primarily concerned with education.

His enthusiasm earned him the admiration of his colleagues in the State legislature as well as in Congress.

LEO's dedication and hard work were very much a part of his character, and he never gave less than 100 percent of himself in any situation.

His efforts on behalf of the people he represented reflected his concern for their needs and problems. He was a man capable of getting the job done, and his death will be sorely felt.

# Proceedings in the Senate

THURSDAY, January 18, 1979.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the message from the House.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

## HOUSE RESOLUTION 11

*Resolved*, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable LEO J. RYAN, a Representative from the State of California.

*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, on behalf of Senator Hayakawa and myself, I send to the desk a resolution relative to the death of Representative LEO J. RYAN, of California, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the resolution.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

## SENATE RESOLUTION 17

*Resolved*, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Honorable LEO J. RYAN, late a Representative from the State of California.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved*, That when the Senate recesses today, it recess as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I ask for action now on this resolution, which is a very fitting tribute to a fine Representative from California who died in the line of duty.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the resolution is considered and agreed to.

RECESS UNTIL 11 A.M. TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, and pursuant to the provisions of Senate Resolution 16, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Hon. William A. Steiger, late a Representative from the State of Wisconsin, and also pursuant to the provisions of Senate Resolution 17, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Hon. LEO J. RYAN, late a Representative from the State of California, the Senate will now stand in recess until 11 a.m. tomorrow.

Thereupon, at the hour of 2:02 p.m., the Senate recessed until tomorrow, Friday, January 19, 1979, at 11 a.m.















Memorial services held in the House main



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